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A BRASS CHARIOT FROM BENGAL

by G. S. DUTT †

At the time of the Rg-Veda the manufacturing of chariots (ratha) was assigned to a special caste named Rathakara. Rathas were extensively used in the warfare of the Aryans if not also in the Vedic rituals. As makers of an important war implement of the Vedic Aryans the Rathakaras appeared to have enjoyed a higher status than other craftsmen in the Rgvedic period. We can assume that the Ratha was an Aryan contribution to Indian culture as we do not find in hitherto discovered pre-Aryan relics in India any trace of considerable military activities.

In the Mahābhārata chariot fighting was the most usual form of warfare. Greek writers tell us that chariots were a great asset to the Indian kings. King Agrammes of the Gangaridae (Lower Bengal) had 2,000 four-horsed chariots for guarding the approaches to his country.[1] The use of the Ratha as a vehicle in a religious procession probably originated in the early medieval age in India, after its use in warfare had become ex.inct. With regard to the gradual decline in the social status of the Rathakaras, the following observations of N. K. Dutt in his "Origin and growth of castes in India" will be of interest : "With the more abundant supply of slaves in the Gangetic valley the Aryan masters like the Romans in the second century B. C. had begun to extensively employ slave labour in all toilsome work in farming, in pasturing and in industrial arts. The greater association of slaves or Śūdra labour with certain branches of industry together with the growing contempt for manual labour, brought the industries themselves low in the estimation of the higher classes, and made those engaged therein, even of pure Aryan birth approximate more to their Śūdra associates and fellow workmen. The first notice of such a marked degradation is found in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (1. 1. 3. 12) where a carpenter's (takṣan) touch is said to impart ceremonial impurity. The Rathakaras, or chariot makers, began to appear as a special caste, apart from the Vaiśyas in general, who still enjoy a good position in society. The mention of such professional castes as Rathakara, Takṣan, Karmakara, separately from the Vaiśya community in general, marks the beginning of the process of degradation

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1. McCrindle, "Ancient India : its invasion by Alexander the Great", p. 222.

and elimination till in the next period we find them put outside the Aryan circle and classed entirely with the Śūdras".[1]

In the Jātakas also Rathakaras are described as a 'hina-jachcho', low caste.[2] According to V. A. Smith[3] "it is legitimate to infer that the use of chariots was obsolescent in the pilgrim's (Hiuen Tsang's) time, and did not survive the seventh century". It can be easily imagined that, at the time when the use of chariots in Indian warfare went out of fashion, their makers, the Rathakaras lost their established profession, concentrated on other tasks, and were merged in other castes. In Bengal

1. O. G. C. I. pp. 97-99.
2. Ibid. p. 274.
3. O. H. I. p. 82.

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now-a-days we do not find any separate caste of Ratha-karas but their work is done in metal by the Karma-kara (kāmār) caste and in wood by the Sūtradhara (sutār) caste. They make chariots only for religious purposes.

The Bengali Ratha cor-responds in its shape to the 'pañcaratna' or 'navaratna' terra-cotta Śiva temples of Bengal. The 'ratnas' on the top, four convex curvatures on the heads of four walls in accordance with the 'chāinches' of 'chouchālā' thatched cottages, the dis-tribution of miniature pic-tures from legends of Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Daśa-avatārs on the outer walls, superimposed animal forms on the four corners and a narrow verandah with a plinth are the common properties of terra-cotta Śiva temples and of the brass and wooden Rathas of Bengal.

The convex 'chāinches' on brass Rathas and on Śiva temples of 'navaratna' or 'pañcaratna' type have their origin in the curvilinear form of the roof of Bengali dwellings ; as was the case with stone architecture so was it with the metal forms. The pre-Aryan style of wooden and bamboo architecture was carried on with "the intermediate stages being worked out in brick".[1] The metal chariots of the cottage type succeed and are similar to terra-cotta 'pañcaratna' and ·navaratna' temples of Bengal.

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1. Coomaraswamy, The Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon, p. 107.

The brass Ratha from Bankathi, a village in the district of Burdwan, is a typical example of the Bengali type of Ratha. From an inscription on it we understand that the unknown makers of this Ratha began to build it in the month of Magh of 1241 B. S. and finished it in the month of Āsāra 1242 B. S. (January—May, 1835 A. D.). The Ratha is little older than a century. To this day Karmakaras make brass Rathas in Bengal.

The height of the Ratha from its top to bottom is 15′ 3″ including the Patākādaṇḍa. The various measurements are : basement 2′ 4″, walls 5′ 11″, small Śikharas on the corners 2′ 7″, central Śikhara 5′ 7″, Patākādaṇḍa 1′ 9″. The breadth of the middle wall is 4′ 9″. The engravings on thin brass plate are on the outer walls and on the four sides of the basement. They are framed with vertical and horizontal decorated bars and four curved plates just below the convex 'chāinch' of the top of the walls. Superimposed animal forms cast in moulds are at the four corners and projecting heads of a mythical animal above each of them.[1]

The unbroken lines of the engravings are produced by constant hammering. The Ratha at Bankathi is probably the last example in which traditional skill in this technique can be seen intact.

The scenes are engraved in an order which is also followed by the 'potuas' in their painted scrolls. The scenes of the story follow upon another and are framed by border lines, each scene a separate panel. The artisans depicted the avatārs of Viṣṇu and specially scenes of the Kṛṣṇa Līlā cult. But unlike the 'potuas' they also illustrate subjects from the Mahābhārata, such as 'Bhīṣma on his bed of arrows', or 'Arjuna bringing

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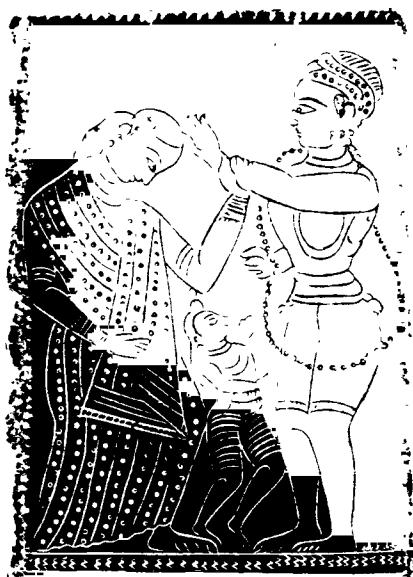
1. As on brick temples, in Bengal ; Cf. also JISOA 1938, Pl. XXXIX. Fig. 4.

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Draupadī to queen Kuntī'. According to the available space they also show single figures in several panels.

The arrangement of the stories runs vertically from top to bottom and is continued in the next vertical compartment at the top.

Illustrations :

1. Kṛṣṇa ; p. 1.
2. Churning of the ocean ; p. 2.
3. Rādhā and Gopinīs going to the river Jamunā ; part of Kṛṣṇa's chariot above them ; p. 3.
4. Kṛṣṇa kills Kaṃsa ; p. 4.
5. Unidentified subject ; p. 5.
6. Arjuna brings Draupadī to Kuntī ; p. 6.

RAJGHAT TERRA-COTTAS

by VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA

The recent excavations at Rajghat[1] have helped to put Benares on the archæological map of India. There was little concrete evidence beyond the well known copper plates of Govindacandradeva from Kamauli village, about ancient Benares until the time that the digger's spade brought to light at Rajghat a charming cross-section of the city's existence during the golden age of the Guptas.

Ancient Vārāṇasī possesses a glorious literary history. The Buddhist Jātakas throw light on its prosperity and reputation as a great city. We know from the Yuvañjaya Jātaka (No. 460) that it was called 'ramma' or the city beautiful. This conception of the city is endorsed by the Chullasutasoma Jātaka which calls it 'sudassana'. The title 'pupphavatī' given in the Khaṇḍahāla Jātaka brings to mind its wealth of flowers ; to some extent this has survived to our own days. The Udaya Jātaka keeping in view its strategic position between the junction of the Ganga and the Gomti rivers describes it as 'surundhana', the city of strong defences. The intellectual and spiritual traditions of Benares found an echo in the name 'Brahmavaddhana' bestowed on it by the Soṇandana Jātaka. We also read of the 'kāseyyaka' fabrics, whose beauty and delicacy enjoyed special fame. Benares had a favourable position on the great highway of trade known as the Uttarapatha which was once the artery of communication between centres of civilisation like Pāṭaliputra in the east and thriving silken route towns like Kapiśā and Bālhīka in the north-west. We are informed by Patañjali that the

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1. By the E. I. R. authorities for extension of the Kashi Station, and partly by officers of the Archæological Survey of India.

traders directing their goods to the overflowing markets of this city looked upon it as 'jitvarī', a profitable centre for the disposal of wares.

The materials now unearthed include a new copper plate grant of Govindacandradeva. They consist mainly of about 2000 terra-cotta figurines. Among these are a large number of female heads and busts mostly of the Gupta period. Pressed in moulds, they are the best examples in this technique of the art associated with the golden age of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. The figurines are remarkable for the variety of styles of hair-dressing which they exhibit (Pl. II. Figs. 1-3), and also because painted lines and various colours are yet preserved on some of them (Pl. II. Fig. 6). Taken together they have a freshness and richness in quality, so far unknown in Gupta terra-cottas. Hundreds of specimens make alive to our eyes types of feminine beauty in that classical period.

Some of them have an 'alaka' coiffure with locks arranged on the two sides of the central 'keśa-vīthī'. Women in the Gupta age liked this fashion for Kālidāsa very often describes 'alaka' as the mark of a beautiful face. In Raghuvaṃśa VIII, 53 he speaks of the 'alaka' hair of Indumatī as being 'valībhṛtah', twisted in short spirals. The 'alaka' hair is called 'cūrṇa-kuntala' showing that the female toilet expert or 'prasādhikā' employed scented paste and powder in order to secure the effect of spiral twisting. In the description of Yakṣiṇī living in separation from her husband, Kālidāsa describes her hair as 'lambālaka' (Meghadūta II, 21), or hair loosely falling on her shoulders implying that the devoted wife had denied to herself the luxury of having her hair dressed. Kālidāsa also refers to 'sīmanta' which Mallinātha explains as the central parting of the hair (mastaka-keśa-vīthī). Some terra-cottas show a gem on the forehead attached to the parting of the hair. Its name is given in the Harṣacarita of Bāṇa as 'catula-tilaka-maṇi' kissing the 'sīmanta' (sīmanta-cumbī ; Harṣacarita, I, p. 32). In another place Bāṇa refers to the use of a ruby (padmarāga-maṇi) for this purpose (Harṣacarita, p. 21, N. S. edition).

The wig-like arrangement of the hair on clay figurines of the Gupta period is well known. There are some excellent specimens from Rajghat showing the style of hair in the form of peacock's feathers turning at the ends, arranged on the two sides of the central parting. A straight sweep starting from the 'sīmanta' ends in volutes. We prefer to describe

these by the epithet 'barha-bhāra keśa' (Meghadūta, II, 41). The style imparts princely dignity to the male face. An aristocratic appearance results from a combination of round eyes, a prominent nose above full lips and heavy round cheeks.

Of special interest are those female heads in which the arrangement of the hair is in the shape of a honeycomb. This seems to have been an international vogue in the ancient world. The fashion was patronised by society women in Rome.

In one class of heads the hair is tied in a single or triple top-knot which in actual practice was interwoven with a flower garland and fastened with pearl festoons (muktā-guṇonnaddha antargata-srajamauli ; Raghuvaṃśa, XVII, 23). In the Ajanta paintings some of the female figures show a conspicuous mass of hair on the head secured on one side. It is probable that its technical name was 'dhammilla' as defined in the Amarakoṣa ; Bāṇa also speaks of 'dhammilla' hair with garlands of 'mallikā' flowers (Harṣacarita, p. 15).

About half a dozen heads have a coiffure in which the right side shows matted locks and the left half spiral curls (alakāvalī). These may be regarded as heads of the Pārvatī-Parameśvara type combining the male and female aspects of the deity.

Religious figures at Rajghat are few. One, a relatively large head of Śiva (5″ high) shows prominently the crescent, vertical eye, and matted locks. The lower portion of a four-armed Viṣṇu terra-cotta figurine is also preserved with its short loin cloth (jaṅghikā), 'vanamālā' and the two side emblems, 'cakra' and 'gadā'.

The best of all the plaques represents the scene of 'Aśoka-preṅkha' (Pl. I. Fig. 1 ; height of original : 4½″). A long swing is suspended from the branch of a full grown Aśoka tree in full blossom, and a woman poised on it enjoys its rocking movements. The garden breeze tosses her garments and shakes the foliage of the tree. She is richly ornamented and wears an attractive 'channavīra' passing in front, an 'ekāvalī' of pearls round the neck, a circular round ear-ring 'tāṭaṅka-kuṇḍala', in her left ear, and profuse bangles on the arms and round the feet. Love of nature, sylvan sports, dance and music are also shown on other plaques with representations such as : dancing 'dampatī' figures ; or, the favourite theme of a woman holding a mango branch in her right hand and tempting a 'krīḍā-śuka' to nibble

at the fruit. This was a popular subject with artists of the Kuṣāṇa period. A circular plaque (Pl. II. Fig. 4) showing a 'kinnara-mithuna' is remarkable for depicting a subject already favoured in earlier times (cf. a similar 'kinnara-mithuna' terra-cotta from Mathura, Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology 1934, p. 15, plate IVe).

Another plaque introduces us to a peculiar subject. It shows a 'lubdhaka' or hunter standing and holding a string in his right hand to which is secured a spirited deer which he is feeding with grass. The young, strong figure has a short dagger, 'asi-putrikā', attached to the girdle on the right thigh. The heavy rustic coat gathered on the arms and unbuttoned on the chest leaves bare the front portion and emphasises the nudity of the lower regions. On his right hangs a bundle probably of peacocks' feathers (Pl. II. Fig. 5).[1]

Two further pieces which count among the best of Indian terra-cottas are those of a 'mārdaṅgika' enraptured in playing on a small drum (Pl. I. Fig. 2) and a standing lad wearing few ornaments and enjoying some eatable which he holds in his hand.

It seems that levels earlier than the Gupta period were not struck when the work of excavation closed at Rajghat, but one fine Śuṅga piece discovered as a stray find, bears testimony to the existence of earlier relics at Rajghat.

We have referred to the other noteworthy feature of the Gupta terra-cottas from Rajghat, namely their colour and the fine lines painted on them. The colours are not mere slips or daubs made by the potters but reveal a skilled use of the brush. Unfortunately the number of painted specimens is small. The 'sārī' for instance of a female figure is painted in wavy bands of red and white and the breast-band, 'kuca-paṭṭikā'. is indicated in black. On the figure of a small boy the short loin cloth is marked by vertical bands in alternating colours. Both these designs can be traced in the Ajanta paintings. On some female busts the painter has indicated in fine black lines the hair and also armlets, torques and necklaces falling on the breast (stana-hāra). In others the eye-brows and the lines of the eyelids are marked in clear black

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1. Cf. JISOA, Vol. VII. Pl. VIII. Fig. 8.

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colour. The painted colours are invariably laid on a prime coat of some neutral colour which appears to be the soft saponaceous earth commonly called 'multānī māṭṭi'. The undercoat gives polish and fixity to the colours. A scientific test is yet to be made of the terra-cotta colours in order to find how far they resemble the pigments on the wall paintings of this period. It however appears that 'hirmachi' and 'geru' were used to produce the red paint to which Kālidāsa in the Meghadūta II. 42 refers as 'dhāturāga'. 'Rangrāj' was used for light yellow and 'manaḥśilā' for bright yellow. Bāṇabhaṭṭa (Harṣa, p. 103) speaks of a deep, "lightning yellow" colour produced from 'manaḥśilā', an arsenic colour. For green we have orpiment or powdered verdigris, 'jangal', and black was invariably obtained from 'kājal' or lamp-black.[1]

Kālidāsa who only once describes a terra-cotta figurine in his works says that it was' painted ; it is the painted clay peacock ('citrita mṛttikāmayūra', Śakuntalā, Act 7) of the Ṛṣi-child Mārkaṇḍeya.

A large number of clay seals of kings, ministers and private persons, including a good number showing Roman heads and a few resembling Gupta coin types were also found along with the terra-cottas and speak of the historical importance of this site.[2]

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1. Painted female heads, with the same richness of hair-dressing and colours, were unearthed at Shahgird near Begram (ancient Kapiśā, about 50 miles north of Kabul) in Afghanistan, and are now displayed in the Museum at Kabul ; cf. Nāgarīpracāriṇī Patrikā, Vol. 22, p. 207 ; described by Rāhula Sānkṛtyāyana). Evidence nearer home was unearthed by Sir John Marshall during his excavations at Bhita, Allahabad district, in 1911-12.

2. The majority of the Rajghat terra-cottas are in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Benares ; some of the heads in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

INDO-MUSLIM ARCHITECTURE IN BENGAL

by S. K. SARASWATI

Islam got a foothold in India with the Arab conquest of Sind in the first quarter of the 8th century A. D. About three centuries later there were the expeditions of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, and subsequently those of Muizz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sam Ghuri about one and a half centuries later still. These ultimately led to the establishment of Muslim power in Delhi under Muhammad's viceroy Qutb-ud-din Aibak, and under him Ikhtiyar-ud-din Muhammad bin Bakhtyar carried the banner of Islam further east. By the closing years of the 12th century A. D. Nuddiah and Lakhnauti (Lakṣaṇāvatī—Gaur) were conquered. But Ikhtiyar-ud-din could not subdue the whole of Bengal. The country of 'Bang' (Eastern Bengal) held out precariously for approximately a century ; when it fell to Islam the Muslim occupation of the province was wellnigh complete.

Ikhtiyar-ud-din established his seat of government at Gaur or Lakhnauti, formerly a Hindu city. From the very beginning of their rule the conquerors felt the necessity of erecting monuments and buildings, characteristic of their faith, and also palaces, caravanserais, 'madrassahs', etc. Minhaj-ud-din, the author of the 'Tabakat-i-Nasiri' mentions that Ikhtiyar-ud-din himself established at Lakhnauti mosques, colleges, resthouses, etc.[1] The same authority further speaks of Hisam-ud-din 'Iwaz, one of the successors of Ikhtiyar-ud-din, who assumed the title of Sultan under the name of Ghiyas-ud-din, that he built mosques, 'madrassahs', resthouses, etc. in his capital and constructed roads across the low and marshy country.[2] The earliest extant inscription recording the erection of a

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1. Raverty, Tabakat-i-Nasiri, p. 560.
2. Ibid., p. 583.

mosque in Bengal comes from Pichhli,[1] 8 miles to the north west of English Bazar, and it states that the "blessed building" was ordered to be built by the Exalted Sultan Iltutmish and was repaired in the reign of the Great Sultan Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Shah during the governorship of Mas'ud Shah Jani in the year 647H (1249 A. D.). Next, so far as inscriptional evidence is concerned, should come the mosque and mausoleum at Triveni of Jafar Khan Ghazi, who conquered south Bengal in 698H (1298 A. D.). Ilahi Bakhsh, the author of the 'Khurshid-i-Jahan-Numa',[2] further mentions an inscription, dated 711H (1311 A. D.), according to which a mosque was built at Guamalti, near Gaur, in that year. But none of these early Muslim monuments, whether mentioned by Minhaj or in the aforesaid inscriptions, has survived to the present day. No trace of the mosque of the Pichhli inscription exists now. The mosque, now standing at Triveni, does not appear to be the original monument contemporary with the inscription of 698H (1298 A. D.), as has been thought by Manomohan Chakravarti, but is certainly much later, as we shall presently see. The mausoleum may be contemporary with 1298 A. D., but it appears originally to have been an old Visnuite edifice, subsequently appropriated to and transformed according to the use and exigencies of the Muhammadan faith. The mosque at Guamalti is totally in ruins. It is not possible under the circumstances to form any clear idea about these early buildings.

It is not unlikely that in the early phases of their settlement, when the conflict with a new race and culture was still fresh most of these early buildings were provided for by appropriating, if not despoiling wholesale, earlier pre-Muhammadan monuments. In the latter case it was not always the iconoclastic zeal that was responsible for such a spoliation, and a strong motive was supplied by the urgent need for convenient materials, which were readily available in such older edifices. Even in the 14th and 15th century buildings we find the free use of older materials, wrenched from their original context. Pillars and door-frames

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1. Cunningham, Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. XV, p. 45; Abid Ali Khan and Stapleton, Memoirs of Gaur and Panduah, pp. 163-164.

2. Beveridge, 'Notes on Khurshid-i-Jahan Numa', Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Old Series, Vol. LXIV, 1895, pp. 194-236.

had been invariably collected from earlier buildings, and figure-sculptures, that might be susceptible to the sentiments of the non-idolatrous faith, had been obliterated.

No existing Muslim monument in Bengal can be dated earlier than the middle of the 14th century A. D. and it is difficult, as has been pointed out, to form an idea of how the older monuments looked. Built to meet the exigencies of the Muslim faith, the monuments—the mosque or the mausoleum—naturally followed the characteristic forms of Muslim architecture in India and elsewhere. But in details of construction and design and even in symbolic forms it was quite possible, that there was evolved a local individuality, due to a contact with, and assimilation of, earlier practices in the country. Unfortunately the preceding stages of such an evolution have not been preserved, but a local stamp is apparent in the earliest of the extant Muslim buildings that are now before us.

The remains of Muslim architecture in Bengal may be divided into the following classes :

1. Mosques and mausolea representing the religious side of architecture.

2. Palaces, gateways, bridges, 'chillakhanas' of saints, etc., representing the secular side.

3. Minars or towers serving both the purposes, the former when used for prayer-calls, the latter as watch-towers.

It is proposed to confine the discussion in the present paper to class 1, which forms the bulk of the existing remains. These buildings are distributed over the different parts of Bengal, some of them in a ruinous condition. But apart from reports and descriptions of individual buildings the monuments have not been studied adequately. Manomohan Chakravarti[1] first tried to see the monuments ·(he deals only with the mosques) in two broad groups ; in this he is right. His study, however, proceeds with the assumption that the Jafar Khan mosque at Triveni and the large multi-domed rectangular mosque at Chhota Panduah (Hooghly) are the oldest buildings of this class in Bengal.

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1. Manomohan Chakravarti, 'Pre-Mughal Mosques of Bengal', JASB, New Series, Vol. VI, 1910, pp. 23-38.

But there are no sufficient grounds for such an early date and stylistically they are to be placed not earlier than the latter part of the 15th century A. D. The stupendous Ādinā mosque at Hazarat Panduah (Maldah) is the oldest extant Muslim building in Bengal ; it was built by Sultan Sikandar Shah in 770H or 776H (1369 or 1374 A. D.). It exhibits a vaulted central nave flanked by two wings, each roofed by a succession of hemispherical domes. The same plan and arrangement have been followed in the Guṇamant mosque at Gaur. The multi-domed oblong type, of which Mr. Chakravarti makes it a variety, occurs late in the history of Muslim architecture in Bengal ; the earliest building of this kind is later than the Ādinā by at least a century. In his division of the buildings into groups Chakravarti misses the chronological point. In classifying the monuments into distinct types their chronology must be taken into account and from this standpoint the multi-domed oblong building, erected in the late 15th century, appears to be but a simplified adaptation of the earlier Ādinā type from which the central nave has fallen out. A revised study of the question appears hence to be necessary and in this paper an attempt will be made to study the remains of Muslim architecture of Bengal stylistically and also chronologically. The chronological demarcation, however, is not too rigid and a particular type, characteristic of an earlier period, may sometimes be found to have been set up also at a subsequent date. Only the mosques and mausolea which were built before the final annexation of Bengal by Akbar in 984H (1576 A. D.) will be considered.

Within these limits the extant remains of Muslim buildings in Bengal may be divided into the following groups :

A. Oblong type with a vaulted central nave and multi-domed side-wings.

B. Single-domed type.

C. Multi-domed oblong type.

D. Single-domed type with corridors running on three sides.

The groups have been arranged on an approximate chronological basis. It will be seen that the third type has been adapted from the first and the fourth from the second.

A. The earliest of the extant types of Muslim buildings in Bengal is characterised by an oblong structure, divided into a central nave and

two side-wings. The central nave is covered by an elongated vault, which is but a continuation of the main front arch that spans the whole breadth of the nave. The wings, which are several aisles deep, are roofed by low hemispherical domes, their number depending on the number of interspaces formed by the division of the whole wing into bays and aisles. The oblong shape with the central nave higher than the two side-wings can be met with elsewhere in India, especially in the region of Gujarat, in Ahmedabad, but the other details and particulars are found on the whole to be peculiar to Bengal, outside the limits of which they are seldom resorted to. Of this type we have two extant examples, the Ādinā mosque at Hazarat Panduah and the Guṇamant mosque at Gaur. The Darasbari mosque at Gaur also appears from the plan to belong to this type.

1. The famous Jami mosque, known as the Ādinā,[1] was built by Sultan Sikandar Shah in the year 770H or 776H (1369 or 1374 A. D.), and as Sir John Marshall says, by a strange coincidence the first Muslim monument extant "was also the most ambitious structure of the kind ever essayed in Eastern India".[2] Almost as big as the great mosque at Damascus it covers an area $507\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $285\frac{1}{2}$ feet externally, and consists on the inside of four great cloisters surrounding a central courtyard, 397 feet by 159 feet.[3] The western range of cloisters forming the 'masjid' proper, is five aisles deep, while the remaining ones have only three. The former is divided into a central nave, 64 feet 4 inches by 33 feet $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and two side-wings, five archways on either side of the central nave opening into the five aisles of the wings formed by four rows of pillars. The roof was an elongated vault spanning the whole width, and though fallen down the vaulted roof may be found marked in outline against the top of the back wall, which also bears a window almost at the apex. The back wall shows the usual prayer niche (qibla, mihrab) flanked on the south by a similar niche and on the north by the pulpit (mimbar), from which the Imām conducts the prayer and

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1. ASR, Vol. XV, pp. 90-94 ; MGP, pp. 127-140 ; Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, pp. 602-603. Pls. XVII, 32, XVIII, 33, 34.
2. CHI, III, p. 602.
3. Plan of Ādinā, ASR, XV, Pl. XXV.

preaches to the congregation. Each of the two side-wings consists of eighteen bays, corresponding to the eighteen niches in the back wall and as many arched openings in front, five bays in the three back aisles of the northern wing being occupied by an upper gallery (Bādshāh-kā-takht, royal platform,)[1] supported on short but ponderous pillars, about 8 feet in height. The cloisters on the north, east and south are three aisles in depth, in contrast to the west which has five, and on account of the arrangement of so many bays and aisles the total space occupied by the four lines of cloisters are subdivided by means of transverse brick walls and stone pillars into 378 small squares, each of which was once covered by a small dome.[2] The sequence of bays and aisles, of arched screens, of numerous domes and pillars, each a replica of the other, is tiresome ; yet a view of the western cloister from the east, with the gigantic central archway, 33 feet in breadth and more than 60 feet in height,[3] flanked on either side by a line of fifteen arches of 8 feet span, has an imposing effect. The niches in the back wall of the western cloister are formed by exquisitely carved pillars, collected from Hindu buildings, while the wall space above them exhibits minute carved brick decorations, so shallow in relief as to appear encrusted on the surface. Attached to the northern half of the back wall is a square chamber, 41 feet 9 inches inside, in which Sikandar Shah, the builder of the mosque, is reported to have been buried. This great building has no imposing entrance doorway. There are two small doorways in the back wall, but these as well as the three entrances to the Bādshāh-kā-takht from Sikandar's chamber appear to have been private accesses for use of the Mullahs and the royal court. An arched opening in the middle of the east side and three archways at the eastern end of the southern cloister were probably meant for public use, but they look insignificant in comparison with the huge concourse of people that used to congregate in this vast

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1. Some scholars think that the upper gallery was meant for the ladies of the harem, a separate reserved accommodation for the king and his retinue being quite out of place in a mosque for Islamic worship, for Islam is the most democratic religion of the world.

2. In the "Memoirs of Gaur and Panduah", p. 127, the number of domes has been wrongly calculated as 306.

3. The arch has fallen down, only the two gigantic piers remain.

establishment. The extensive Ādinā mosque exhibits a prolific use of earlier pre-Muhammadan materials in its construction and the plinth mouldings on the back wall correspond essentially to those of Hindu temples. It may not be improbable, as the author has indicated elsewhere,[1] that part of this immense structure rests actually on the basement of an earlier edifice, peculiar features of which have been sought to be imitated in the other parts of the building.

2. The Guṇamant mosque at Gaur[2] is another example of the type of oblong mosque with a central nave covered by an elongated vault, flanked by two side-wings roofed by clusters of semicircular domes (p. 35, fig. 1). The date of this building is uncertain and Cunningham is inclined to date it conjecturally in the reign of Jalal-ud-din Fath Shah on the basis of an inscription of that king, dated 889H (1484 A. D.), which was found deposited in a thatched mosque at Mahdipur, not far from the Guṇamant, and which, according to him, might have originally belonged to it. It should be pointed out, however, that this mosque agrees in all essential respects with the great Ādinā mosque at Hazarat Panduah, more than a century earlier in date. There is no certainty that the inscription, referred to, did belong to the mosque in question and in view of the fact that the building has distinct affinities with an earlier group, the inference that it is also nearer to it in date may not be improbable.

The building is now in a very ruinous state, its situation on the river bank being responsible for much of the plunder that it has experienced. Externally it measures 140 feet 9 inches by 59 feet 4 inches, with a corridor, about 18 feet wide, along the whole front. The central nave, 51 feet by 16 feet 10 inches, is covered, as in the Ādinā, by an elongated vault and has likewise a window high up in the back wall of the mihrab. The vault in the Guṇamant, however, shows ribs, but it is not known whether such a feature existed in the Ādinā. The side-wings are each divided into three aisles by two rows of pillars, and with four openings in the front facade and corresponding niches in the back wall

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1. S. K. Saraswati, 'Notes on two tours in the districts of Maldah and Dinajpur', JABS, NS, Vol. XXVIII, 1932 ; MGP, pp. 85-86.

2. ASR, XV, pp. 65-66 ; MGP, pp. 85-86.

the total space is divided into twelve smaller squares on each side, covered by as many low hemispherical domes. The ground plan and general arrangement are essentially identical with those of the Ādinā, from which it differs in its reduced dimensions and correspondingly smaller number of bays and aisles, and in having no cloisters on the north, east and south. Like the Ādinā too, it was constructed of stone as well as of brick, the lower part of the walls up to the spring of arches being of stone, and the upper of brick.

3. Another mosque at Gaur, the Darasbari,[1] which, according to an inscription found at that place, might probably have been built by Yusuf Shah in 884H (1479 A. D.), also appears from the ground plan to belong to the Ādinā-Guṇamant type. It is 111 feet 6 inches by 67 feet 6 inches and consists of a central hall, 51 feet by 25 feet 6 inches, flanked by two side wings. A corridor, 16 feet 6 inches broad, runs along the whole front, and though the roof has all fallen in, it may be inferred that like the Ādinā and the Guṇamant the nave was covered by a long vault and the side-wings by hemispherical domes. There was also an upper gallery near the north-western corner and but for this the building strictly conforms to the Guṇamant, which also stands nearby.

B. The second type is characterised by the single-domed square building, usually popular with early tomb constructions but subsequently copied also in mosques. There are no pillars, inside the hall, though they are common in the type just discussed and the third type to be described later. The square plan sometimes changes into an octagon in the interior, which is easily spanned by the hemispherical dome. More often, however, the square plan is retained and a succession of gradually projecting masonry from roughly the three-fourth height of the walls at each corner changes the square into a regular octagon at the top, above which springs the semicircle of the dome. Externally there are four corner turrets, usually octagonal in shape, rising just above the cornices which are slightly curved, a peculiarity that has been rightly sought to be traced to imitation of bamboo constructions. The tombs usally have four doors in the four walls ; the mosques have one or three in the front with corresponding niches at the back. Entrances through the side-walls also may occasionally

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1. MGP, pp. 76-77.

be found in case of mosques. Sometimes the single-domed square mosque exhibits a corridor running along the whole front, both the corridor and the hall having as many entrances as there are niches in the back wall. Apart from the massive dome spanning the hall proper there are three more small domes roofing the corridor.

1. The earliest of the single-domed square type of building is the Eklākhi mausoleum at Hazarat Panduah,[1] traditionally famous as the tomb cf Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Shah (821 to 835H ; 1418 to 1431 A. D.), the proselyte son of Raja Ganeśa or Kans, as he is known to the Muslim historians. The fabric is of brick, occasionally interspersed with horn-blende slabs, collected from older edifices. Its dimensions are nearly square, being 78 feet 6 inches by 74 feet 6 inches externally, changing into an octagon of 48 feet 6 inches diameter on the inside (p. 35, fig. 2). There are four arched doorways (also fitted with door-frames from Hindu monuments), one on each face, and four cells in the thickness of the walls inside, one at each of the four corners. The semicircular dome rises directly from the octagon of the interior. There is no cylindrical or octagonal drum as the basement of the dome, which looks low and stunted. This loss of height on account of the absence of any base for the dome is a common weakness in the Muslim architecture of Bengal, and no building in Bengal, whether single-domed or multi-domed, attains that grandeur, which is characteristic of similar buildings in other parts of the country. The dome of the Lotan Masjid at Gaur (to be described later) has a flat vault as its basement and thereby gains in height.

The ceiling of the Eklākhi is neatly plastered, while there appear to have been painted decorations in the interior. The exterior, however, is very highly ornamented by vertical offsets and recesses, fine horizontal bands and mouldings and decorations in carved brick in an infinite variety of floral designs. The curved cornice, supported on balusters, juts out considerably from the walls and together with the octagonal corner turrets with their horizontal bands is rich and bold in effect. But in spite of its pleasing lines and beauty and variety of low terra-cotta ornamentations the Eklākhi fails in comparison with similar tomb constructions in the west of India (tomb of Muhammad

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1. ASR, XV, pp. 88-90 ; MGP, 125-127 ; OHI, III, p. 603.

Shah Saiyad, Delhi ; tombs of Baha-ul-Haqq and Rukn-i-Alam, Multan ; etc.), as lacking in height and dignity and the semicircular dome, however massive, over a square structure leaves the corners bare—a void that accentuates the loss of balance and organic unity in the whole structure.

2. What is known as the Chikā masjid or the 'Bats' mosque' at Gaur[1] is an exact parallel of the Eklākhi, though slightly smaller in dimensions. The external and internal measurements are respectively 71 feet 6 inches and 42 feet square. The plan and other details closely follow those of the Eklākhi and need not be repeated here. It is known as the bats' mosque to the local people on account of numerous bats which infested the building in its ruined condition. But, properly speaking, it is not a 'masjid' at all, there being neither the prayer niche nor the pulpit inside the hall. Creighton describes it as a gate and thinks that it was erected in 909H (1504 A. D.) on the basis of an inscription, discovered by Francklin in the grounds adjacent to the Qadam Rasul which is nearby, recording the erection of a gateway by Ala-ud-din Husain Shah in that year. But the building, so closely following the Eklākhi in plan, in arrangement, as well as in dimensions, appears to be much earlier than the time of Husain Shah, and Cunningham, on the basis of this analogy, is inclined to regard it as a tomb, perhaps of Mahmud I—the successor of Ahmad Shah, who was (Jadu) Jalal-ud-din's son—and his successors. But no trace of any grave has been found inside the building, and local tradition, it may be pointed out, connects the building with the state prison where Husain Shah confined his minister Sanātan, who later became a famous Vaiṣṇava saint and an ardent disciple of Śrī-Caitanya.

3. Soon however the type was copied in mosques and the smaller mosque at Chhoṭa Panduah (Hooghly),[2] constructed in 882H (1477 A. D.), followed essentially the single-domed building of early tomb constructions, though the other details naturally varied. It is a square of 25 feet 6 inches and with curved cornices, polygonal corner turrets and one massive dome it has a general resemblance to the

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1. ASR, XV, pp. 55-56 ; MGP, pp. 65-66.
2. ASR, XV, pp. 124-124.

buildings referred to above (p. 35, fig. 3). But no longer do we find the four doorways piercing the four walls in the middle, but the western or the back wall is solid and contains three mihrabs or prayer niches with corresponding doorways in the front facade and two additional ones in the two side walls.

4. The Purani masjid or the old mosque at Goaldihi, Sunargaon (Vikrampur),[1] built in 925H (1519 A. D.), is slightly smaller than the above (16 feet 6 inches square), but is identical with it in other respects. The mihrabs, however, are semi-octagonal in shape, and in each side wall, in addition to a doorway, two rectangular niches have been provided for.

5. An old mosque at Molla Simla in the Serampore sub-division of the Hooghly district,[2] though repaired from time to time, retains essentially its earlier form, which corresponds to the type under discussion. Blochmann is inclined to identify the present mosque with the one erected in 777H (1375 A. D.) according to an inscription now fixed on the tomb of Shah Anwar Kuli, which stands just in front of the mosque. Architecturally, however, the existing structure appears to be later at least by about a century and the doorway bears the stamp of recent work. It is a square structure (17 feet each way) with curved cornices and octagonal corner turrets and the dome, instead of being strictly semi-circular, is a little pointed towards the top. There are three mihrabs in the back wall with a pulpit in between the two at the northern end. There are three doorways, one in each of the three other walls, that in the front being bigger than the other two.

We may now pass on to the single-domed mosque with a corridor in front, which represents a variety of the type under discussion. The square hall of the mosque is spanned by a single dome, while the corridor has three smaller ones just in front. Curved cornices and octagonal turrets are also as usual of this variety.

6. The Gopalgunj mosque (Dinajpur), erected in 865H (1460 A. D.),[3] appears to be the earliest of this variety. The hall is 12 feet square

1. ASR, XV, pp. 143-144.
2. JASB, NS, Vol. XI, 1910, p. 27, fig. 4.
3. JASB, OS, Vol. XLII, 1873, pp. 272, 273.

internally with a corridor, 5½ feet wide, along the front. There are three mihrabs in the back wall and a corresponding number of entrances in the hall and corridor fronts, with one opening each in the side walls of the hall as well as of the corridor. The hall is covered by a single dome but it is not known how the corridor was spanned.

7. The Chamkatti mosque at Gaur[1] has been ascribed by Cunningham to Yusuf Shah on the basis of an inscription, dated 880H (1475 A. D.), copied by Francklin from a mosque in Mahajantolla, adjoining the Lotan masjid, which he identifies with the present one. It is 23 feet 8 inches square internally with the corridor in front, 9 feet 11 inches wide. Instead of three it has only one prayer niche in the western wall, but the two side walls of the hall have each three doorways in conformity with those in the front, while the corridor shows three in front and one each at the two side ends. Besides curved battlements and octagonal corner turrets, the wall face has been divided into panels and bordered with glazed tiles. The hall is covered by a single dome and the corridor by a peculiar kind of flat vault.

8. The Lotan mosque,[2] traditionally connected with a beautiful dancer of the royal court, is exactly on the model of the Chamkatti, though slightly bigger in dimensions (internally 34 feet square, corridor 11 feet wide) and may be ascribed to the reign of Yusuf Shah. In its proportions it is the superior of the two, but an inordinate sense of ornamentation has been displayed in the glazed bricks of various colours and designs, which faced the mosque both inside and outside. Apart from the single dome, which covers the hall, there are three smaller ones in front spanning the corridor (p. 35, fig. 4). The number of doorways is exactly the same as in the Chamkatti, though variety has been introduced by grading the sizes of the different archways, the front central one being 6 feet 11 inches, the side ones 5 feet 5 inches and the end ones 4 feet 9½ inches. Another variation may be noticed in the provision of six corner turrets, instead of the usual four, four at the four corners of the hall and one each at either end of the corridor. Still more commendable is the construction of the massive dome, which is provided with a basement

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1. ASR, XV, pp. 60-61 ; MGP, p. 69.
2. ASR, XV, pp. 62-65 ; MGP, pp. 72-75.

support, cylindrical outside and in the shape of a flattened vault inside. This support adds to the height and dignity of the building and also in the way of organic beauty, which is unfortunately lacking in most of the buildings of this kind in Bengal. An intense desire for surface decoration so obsessed the architects and their royal patrons in Bengal that very little regard was paid to the structural beauty of the building as a whole, and even in the Lotan mosque, which to some extent aspired to it, a gaudy surface, due to glazed brick facing, has somewhat marred the appearance of the whole monument.

9. The mosque at Kheraul (Murshidabad),[1] built in 900H (1494-95 A. D.), has, like the Lotan, three smaller domes over the corridor besides the single dome over the hall. But it has neither the structural grace nor the lavish ornamentation, which characterise the former.

10. The Rukn Khan mosque at Devīkoṭ (Dinajpur)[2] was erected in 918H (1512 A. D.) and appears from the plan to belong to this type. The roof, however, has completely fallen in.

C. The third type is characterised by an oblong structure, which is divided into several aisles by rows of pillars, supporting the arches of the domes, and cut into a number of bays, corresponding to the number of prayer niches in the back wall and arched openings in the front. The roof consists of successive rows of low and small domes, their number depending on the number of interspaces formed by the division of the building into bays and aisles. As usual in Bengal, curved cornices and polygonal corner turrets are also characteristic elements of such a structure. Manomohan Chakravarti speaks of them as "many-domed parallelopiped."[3] The oldest extant building of this group cannot be dated earlier than the latter half of the 15th century A. D., and, as has already been mentioned, it appears to be a simplified adaptation from a type of oblong structure with a central nave and two side-wings (Ādinā, Guṇamant) that had been typical of the 14th century A. D. In the 15th century the central nave was eliminated and the type of multi-domed

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1. JASB, NS, VI, p. 27.
2. ASR, XV, p. 99.
3. JASB, NS, VI, pp. 26, 28.

oblong structure was evolved. This type was in vogue in the latter part of the 15th and the earlier part of the 16th century A. D., and quite a good number of examples have been found in different parts of Bengal. In this group there may further be noticed sub-varieties distinguished by the number of bays in which the building itself has been planned and arranged.

(a) Three bays : The three-bayed buildings are nearly square, the proportion between length and breadth being approximately 3 : 2. The bays correspond to the three prayer niches in the back wall and three archways in front. Usually they are divided into two or three aisles by one or two rows of pillars. The domes are either six or nine, corresponding to the number of smaller squares formed by the arrangement of bays and aisles.

1. The Salik mosque at Basirhat (Twenty-four Parganas)[1] is traditionally said to have been built by one Ala-ud-din in 1305 A. D. An inscription over the central mihrab places the date of the erection of the mosque in 871H (1466-67 A. D.). Recent renovations have considerably altered the early features of the mosque, but the original plan can easily be determined as an oblong hall, 36 feet by 24 feet, divided into two aisles by a single row of two pillars. There are three mihrabs in the back wall and three corresponding archways in front. Each of the two side-walls bears two windows with a niche in between. The roof consists of six domes in two rows of three each.

2. Baba Adam's mosque at Vikrampur[2] (888H, 1483 A.D.) of slightly smaller dimensions (34 feet by 22½ feet) corresponds to the Salik mosque in having the same number of aisles, mihrabs, front archways and domes, the only difference being the two rectangular niches in each of the two side-walls.

3. Jalal-ud-din's mosque at Sātgaon (Hooghly),[3] erected in 936H (1529 A. D.), though in ruins, may be found to have belonged to the same category as the above. The northern bay, however, is smaller than the other two.

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1. JASB, NS, VI, p. 29.
2. JASB, OS, XLII, p. 284.
3. Ibid, XXXIX, 1870, p. 297.

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4 and 5. The Kusumbā mosque in Rajshahi and the Kasbā mosque at Bakarganj, though their inscriptions are not traced, do not appear to be later than the 16th century A. D. The Kusumbā[1] is a building of two aisles with three mihrābs and three arched openings in front and two more additional ones, one each in the two side-walls. The northern bay consists of a raised platform. As usual, it was covered by six domes in two rows. The Kasbā mosque shows the same number of bays and entrances, but consists of three aisles, divided by two rows of pillars, and is spanned by nine domes in three rows. The Jahaniyan mosque at Gaur,[2] erected in 941H (1534 A. D.) in the reign of Ghiyas-ud-din Mahmud Shah, appears to be the latest of the dated buildings of the group.

(b) Five bays : The fived-bayed buildings are long rectangular structures with five mihrabs in the back wall and five frontal archways. They are divided either into two or three aisles, and the number of domes are either ten or fifteen accordingly. Some of the finest Muslim buildings in Bengal may be found in this group.

6. Majlis Saheb's mosque at Kalna (Burdwan)[3] appears from its name to have been associated with the "Great and liberal Majlis, Majlis-i-A'zam" mentioned in the inscriptions of the Salik mosque at Basirhat (871H, 1466-67 A. D.) and the square mosque at Chhota Panduah (882H, 1477 A. D.), and might have been dated about this period. It is a long rectangular block, internally 75 feet 9 inches by 25 feet 3 inches, and divided into two longitudinal aisles by one row of four pillars. The five bays correspond to the five mihrabs in the back wall and five archways in the front, and ten domes in two rows of five each cover the roof. The two bays in the north are provided with an upper platform.

7. The Tāntipāra mosque at Gaur,[4] probably constructed about 1480 A. D., has been considered by Cunningham as "the finest of all the buildings now remaining in Gaur." The long rectangular hall, 78 feet

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1. JASB, OS, LXXIII, 1904, p. 117.
2. MGP, pp. 92-93.
3. JASB, NS, VI, p. 23.
4. ASR, XV, pp. 61-62 ; MGP, pp. 71-72 ; CHI, III, p. 605.

by 31 feet on the inside, is divided into two aisles (p. 36, fig. 1). Besides the five front arched openings, corresponding to the number of mihrabs in the back wall, there are four more, two each in the two side-walls. There was probably also an upper platform at the northern end. The ten domes, in two rows of five each, which spanned the building, have all fallen down, as also a part of the front arched screen. Yet even in its ruined state it is one of the finest of all the Muslim buildings in Bengal on account of its rich and effective ornamentation and the "large decorated panels that stand out in high relief against the plain walls." The rich colour of red bricks also adds to the beauty of the building in contrast to the gaudy glazed bricks facing the Lotan Masjid.

8. The Chhoṭi Sonā Masjid (Small Golden Mosque) at Gaur,[1] built by Wali Muhammad in the reign of Ala-ud-din Husain Shah (1493-1519 A. D.), is another example of the five-bayed multi-domed mosque characteristic of the period. It is a rectangular building, 70 feet 4 inches by 40 feet 9 inches inside, and is divided into three aisles by two rows of four pillars each. Besides the five front archways there are six more, three each in the side-walls opening into the three aisles of the building. The central bay, corresponding to the central mihrab, is spanned by three superstructures, each consisting of four flat segments meeting in the middle—in the shape of the curved thatched roof of Bengali huts. The four other bays are spanned by twelve hemispherical domes, slightly diminishing in size towards the outer ends, thus giving a slightly curved ensemble in conformity with the curved cornices of the building. The north-western corner of the hall is occupied by an upper platform. The building has been covered with stone entirely on the outside and partially on the inside. The outer face contains carvings, which are more or less mechanical. Traces of gilding appear on the inside of some of the domes, and it is probably this feature which accounts for the name.

9. The old mosque at Hemtabad (Dināijpur),[2] erected in 906H (1500-01 A. D.), is an exact replica of the Chhoṭi Sonā Masjid in plan

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1. ASR, XV, pp. 73-76 ; MGP, pp. 79-83 ; CHI, p. 608.
2. JASB, NS, VI, p. 30.

and other arrangements, though it is entirely in brick. Of the five bays, the central one is the largest ; so is also the central archway of the five frontal archways. Two rows of pillars divide the building into three aisles with corresponding openings at the sides. Of the fifteen domes in three rows of five each, the three over the central bay are bigger than the others.

10. The Jafar Khan mosque, now standing at Triveṇī[1] (Hooghly), it has already been mentioned, is not contemporary with the inscription of 698H (1298 A. D.) which frames the central mihrab and was obviously fixed here from some older building that stood near by. It is reputed to have been built, at least in its present form, during the reign of Ala-ud-din Husain Shah (1493-1519 A. D.)[2] and its style and features conform to this date. It is a five-bayed oblong building, longer than twice its breadth, and is divided into two aisles by a single row of pillars. The five frontal archways are also supported on pillars, hexagonal and ponderous in girth, while two more arched openings are provided for at each end, corresponding to the two aisles. It was spanned by ten low hemispherical domes, five each in two rows, of which a few have fallen in.

11. The mosque at Bagha (Rajshahi),[3] dating from 930H (1523-24 A. D.), follows closely the Tāntipārā mosque in plan as well as in dimensions. It is a building of two aisles, with corresponding arched openings at each end and five archways in front and covered by ten domes, in two rows of five each. The two bays in the back aisle at the northern end are occupied respectively by the mimbar and an upper platform. The building is entirely of brick, except the single row of pillars which divide the two aisles, and bear ornamentations in terra-cotta both inside and outside. But they lack the sense of movement in similar carvings in the Tāntipārā, and are a mere medley of mechanical and tasteless patterns, as Marshall describes them.[4]

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1. JASB, NS, VI, pp. 23.
2. Mention should be made in this connection that a decayed inscription in the mosque bears the name of Husain Shah, but other details are lacking. JASB, OS, XXXIX, p. 283.
3. Ibid, LXXIII, 1904, p. 111.
4. CHI, III, p. 607.

(c) Eleven bays : The eleven-bayed mosques are rare, only two having been known to exist. Along with an increased number of bays, the building attains an inordinate length and may sometimes look out of proportion. But this weakness has been sought to be overcome while correspondingly increasing the width of the building by adding to the number of aisles. As usual, the number of domes spanning the roof corresponds to the number of subdivisions arrived at by the arrangement of bays, aisles and corridors.

12. The Bari Sonā Masjid (Great Golden Mosque) at Gaur[1] erected by Sultan Nasrat Shah in 932H (1526 A. D.), is a massive rectangular building, 168 feet by 76 feet, with six corner turrets, four at the four corners of the hall and two at either end of the corridor in front. The hall is divided into three aisles by two rows of ten pillars each, and has a corridor running along the whole front and separated from the hall by another row of ten thicker pillars (p. 36, fig. 2). There are eleven front openings to the hall as well as to the corridor, corresponding to the eleven niches in the back wall. Three side openings at each end open into the three aisles of the hall and one each to the corridor. The three bays in the north-west corner were occupied by an upper platform. Forty-four domes, in four rows of eleven each, originally roofed the building and of these only eleven over the corridor now remain, those over the hall having fallen in perhaps with the removal of the pillars. The mosque was built of bricks, entirely faced with stone on the outside and up to the arch-springs on the inside. Like the Small Golden Mosque it also appears to have been originally gilded, but being sparingly adorned it attains greater simplicity and impressiveness, and Fergusson is inclined to regard it as "perhaps the finest memorial now left at Gaur".[2] The arcaded aisle of the corridor has no doubt an imposing effect, and so also the massive solidity of the building. It should be added that there is an immense quadrangle, about 200 feet square, in front of the building, approached by arched gateways on the north, east and south.

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1. ASR, XV, pp. 66-69 ; MCP, 45-49.
2. Fergusson and Burgess, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, Vol. II. p. 257.

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13. The Sath Gambuz Mosque at Bagerhat (Khulna),[1] associated with the name of Khan-i-Jahan Ali, is another example of the eleven-bayed mosque in Bengal. A long rectangular building, internally 144 feet by 96 feet (160 feet by 105 feet externally), has been divided into seven aisles by means of slender pillars, each aisle corresponding to an arched opening in each of the two side-walls. In front there are eleven archways in conformity with eleven niches in the back wall, the central one being larger than the others flanking it. The central aisle has two small brick platforms towards the north, of which one nearer the central mihrab served as the pulpit. The immense building is spanned by seventy domes, in seven rows of ten each, on either side of the seven hut-shaped vaults covering the central bay. The front facade of the building introduces an unusual variation. The frontal cornice, instead of being curved in the usual Bengali fashion, exhibits a straight slope from a triangular pediment over the central bay. The corner turrets are round, instead of being polygonal, and each of them has an upper storey pierced by two arched openings and crowned by a dome. In these respects the Sath Gambuz mosque at Bagerhat introduces an innovation in the conventional multi-domed type of mosques in Bengal. The arcaded aisles, however, lose their effect to some extent, on account of the extremely slender pillars supporting the arches.

(d) Twenty-one bays : The mosque with twenty-one bays may be said to represent an extreme exaggeration of the tendency, that was felt during the period, of imparting grandeur and effect to a building by duplicating its parts and thereby increasing its size. It is this tendency which, stage by stage, has led to the multiplication of bays and aisles. But this multiplication should apply to both the bays and the aisles, as such a procedure in one direction is likely to lead to a loss of proportion and to an inordinate increase of size in one direction only. This is exactly what happened in case of the single example of the twenty-one-bayed building, extant now, namely the long ruined mosque at Chhota Panduah.

14. The Bāradwārī Mosque at Chhota Panduah (Hooghly),[2] along with the Minar adjacent to it, is supposed to have been erected

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1. CHI, III, p. 604 ; JASB, NS, VI, p. 30.
2. ASR, XV, pp. 124-125 ; JASB, NS, VI, p. 24.

by Shah Saif-ud-din a nephew of Firuz of the house of Tughluq, in the 14th century A. D. But such a date appears to be too early for the mosque, as the style evidently belongs to a much later age and it is not unreasonable to infer that it belonged to the period of the multi-domed type of mosques, under discussion. Its plan and arrangement, too, place it as one of the late manifestations of the type. It is in a dilapidated condition, and the debris that had accumulated on account of the falling in of many of the domes of the roof have not yet been cleared. It is a long rectangular block, externally 231 feet by 42 feet, and was divided on the inside into three long aisles by two rows of twenty pillars each (p. 36, fig. 3). The pillars are of varying shapes and designs and were evidently collected from a number of older edifices. Corresponding to the twenty-one mihrabs there were as many frontal archways and three more in each of the side-walls opening into the long aisles. The niches were well carved, and the pulpit, a miniature stone platform with a dome-shaped canopy carved out of a single block of stone, is graceful and well designed. The entire building was spanned by sixty-three low domes (many of which have fallen down) in three long rows of twenty-one each. There appears to have been an upper platform, nearer the northern end of the hall, now covered with rubbish and debris. It is unfortunate that the inordinate length of the building, extending over twenty-one bays, has not been compensated by a corresponding addition to the number of aisles. The height again falls far too short to compare favourably with its dimensions. With its low elevation and a length nearly six times its breadth and with its regular and monotonous features the building looks more like a barrack than a place of worship.

D. The fourth, the single-domed type with corridors running along the three sides, is represented by a single specimen in the Quadam Rasul at Gaur built by Sultan Nasrat Shah in 937H (1530-31 A. D.). Qadam Rasul buildings are known from various other parts of Bengal (Murshidabad, Sunargaon, Nabiganj, etc.) and they are specially sacred as shrines containing the Footprints of the Prophet. But none of these buildings, except that at Gaur, falls within our period. The Qadam Rasul at Gaur[1] is a rectangular hall, 25 feet by 15 feet, with corridors

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1. ASR, XV, pp. 54-55 ; MGP, pp. 61-53 ; Fergusson, Op. Cit., p. 256.

9 feet wide, running along the front and the two sides. The hall itself has three doors, one in front and two at the two sides. The corridor, however, shows three frontal archways, supported on short but massive stone pillars, and two more on the two sides (p. 36, fig. 4). The hall is crowned by a single dome with a lotus-like pinnacle at the top, and the corridors by flat-vaulted roofs. At each corner there is an octagonal turret, surmounted by a small stone pillar which looks like a minaret—a feature that is not noticed in any other building of the period. Except the frontal pillars, it is entirely constructed of brick and the front facade is highly ornamented by horizontal bands and panels of carved brick. The other three facades are relieved by horizontal mouldings and vertical offsets.

Though we have evidence that the building operations of the conquerors began very soon after the conquest, yet from numerous inscriptions and extant remains it appears that the most active period of Muslim architecture in Bengal coincided with the two and a half centuries (1338-1576 A. D.) that the country enjoyed independence under the different dynasties of Sultans. Most of the monuments are situated at Gaur and Hazarat Panduah, the two capital cities, while others have been found at Chhota Panduah, Satgaon and Triveni (Hooghly), Sunargaon (Dacca), Hemtabad, Devikot, Gopalganj, etc., (Dinajpur), Bagerhat (Khulna), etc., all important settlements during this time. The earliest of the existing remains, the great Ādinā mosque erected by Sikandar Shah in 1369 or 1375 A. D., belongs to Hazarat Panduah. This type, Type A of the text, may be said to be characteristic of the 14th century A. D. Two other examples of the type, found at Gaur, have been sought to be dated in the 15th century. But such dates are based on uncertain facts ; stylistically they are essentially analogous to the Ādinā and do not appear to be far removed from it in date. The earliest date for Type B, in respect of extant remains, may be the reign of Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Shah alias Jadu (1418-1431 A. D.), and the type with its different varieties, especially in mosques, may be said to have been in existence till approximately the third quarter of the 15th century, though in the outlying districts stray examples of the type may be found still later. The third type, that of the multi-domed oblong structure, which appears to be a later adaptation from the first, was common since the last quarter of the 15th

century A. D. (one or two examples may be noticed slightly earlier), Sultans Husain Shah (1493-1519 A. D.) and Nasrat Shah (1519-1532 A. D.), father and son, being two of its eminent patrons. The fourth type, again an adaptation from the second, is represented by a single example, which cannot be dated earlier than the second quarter of the 16th century.

The character of these early Muslim monuments is the result of a fusion and assimilation of two architectural types, the Muslim and the Indian building tradition in ancient Bengal. The general plan and lay-out are Muslim. The conquerors, however, did not bring with them artists and architects and for the construction of their edifices they had to depend on local builders, who, though they could not determine the essential form of the structure because that had been done by the exigencies of the faith, left their impress on the details of construction and decorative arrangement. The difficulty of obtaining stone in the flat plain of Bengal and the consequent use of brick resulted in the evolution of distinct features and designs, some of which might have existed in the earlier period, and the style that was developed may be designated as "the brick style of Bengal". The voussoir principle, was known but adopted rather imperfectly in the usual pointed arch ; the dome itself was built up of concentric rings of flat bricks, gradually diminishing in circumference one above the other, until at the top it was spanned by a flat tile or a stone slab. This method, followed probably in imitation of the earlier Indian practice of the horizontal arch, limited the size and height of the domes. The massiveness of the buildings has been resorted to so as to ensure greater permanence to a brick structure, and this together with its low elevation gives an effect of squatness to the structure. The brick construction was also responsible for the heavy and short pillars, to increase the solidity of the supports.

Ready-made pre-Muslim materials from earlier edifices had been frequently used in the earlier phases of building activity. Pillars or door-frames supporting the arch or entablature or forming the niches had been collected from earlier structures and they, in their turn, were copied in the facade and wall decorations of later structures. At Ādinā in Hazarat Panduah we find in the prayer niches the tre-foil arch, characteristic of the earlier period, and this in its turn gradually is

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transformed into the cusped arch, a distinct characteristic of later architecture. The curved battlement or cornice is also one of the distinct characteristics of early Muslim architecture in Bengal and this form may originally be traced to constructions in bamboo and timber, the popular building medium of Bengal. The hut-shaped superstructure over the roof, in place of and along with the semicircular dome, is also peculiarly Bengali.

The style that was thus evolved was not characteristic of Muslim buildings only. The Hindus did not hesitate to take it as their own, and though the forms of their temples naturally differed from those of the mosques, yet the characteristic features of the style have been reflected in Hindu buildings also. The hut-shaped form with curved cornices and roof is peculiar to the mediæval temples of Bengal. Whether they belong to what is known as the 'Bāṅglā' or 'dochālā' type or to the 'chauchālā' type, their early analogues may be found in bamboo constructions and in their copies in brick, as in the buildings already noticed. The heavy and stunted pillars supporting the arches of the facade of these temples are reminiscent of similar ones in Muslim buildings, while the cusped design of the arch is a distinct adaptation from Muslim buildings. The ornamentation all over the front facade of these temples was possibly inspired by the minute ornamentation of some of the well known monuments of the Indo-Muslim style, though, as demanded by Hindu legends and tradition, the facades of the temples displayed figures and gods. If we compare, for example, the Qadam Rasul with a mediæval Hindu temple we find that the facade with its curved cornice and three arched openings supported on short and squat pillars look essentially like that of the latter, if the details in the ornaments are left out. The Indo-Muslim architecture in Bengal is the result of a synthesis towards which the Muslims and the Hindus of Bengal contributed their respective tradition.
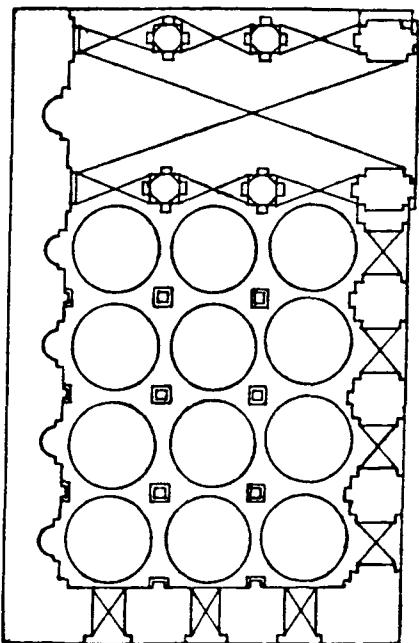
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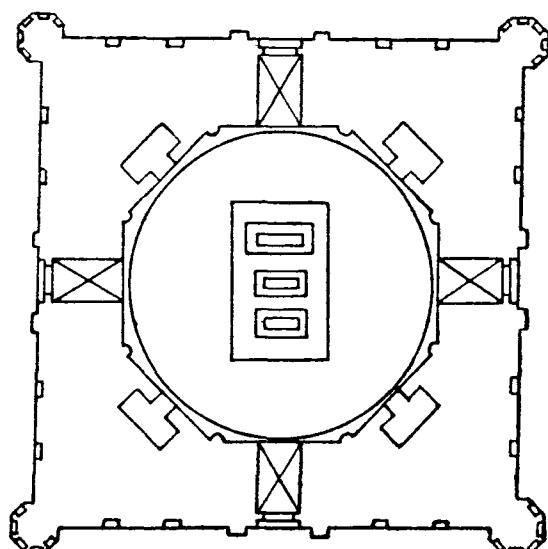
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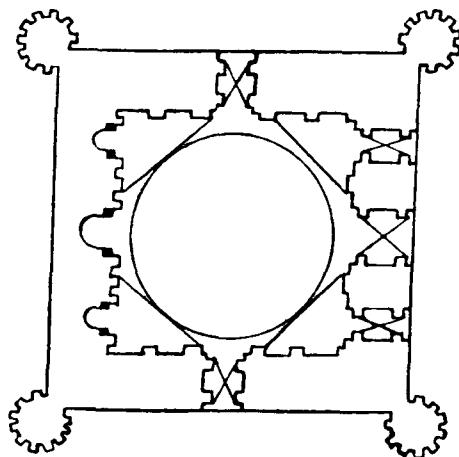
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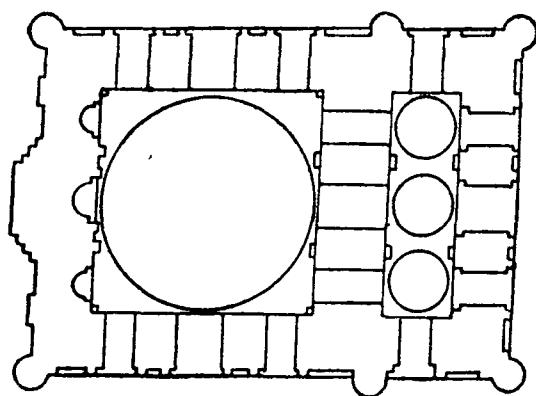
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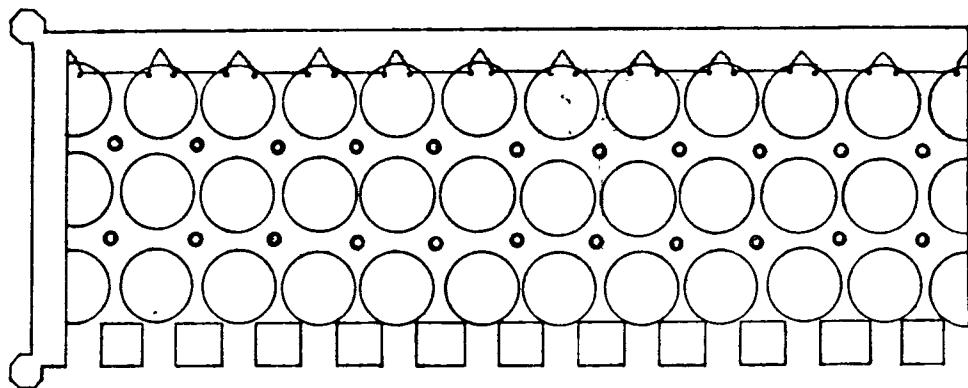
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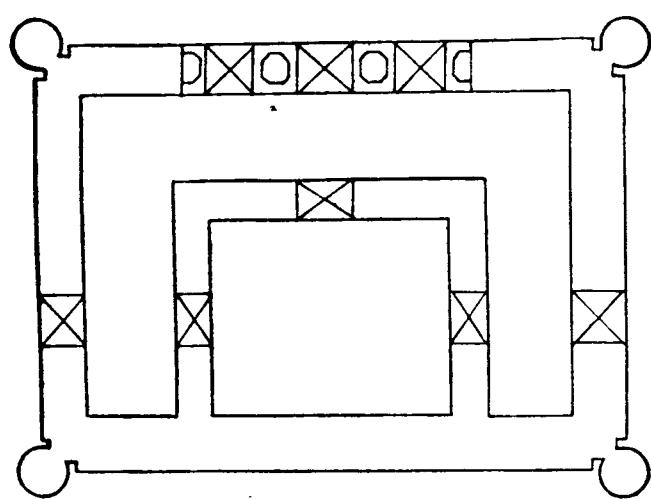
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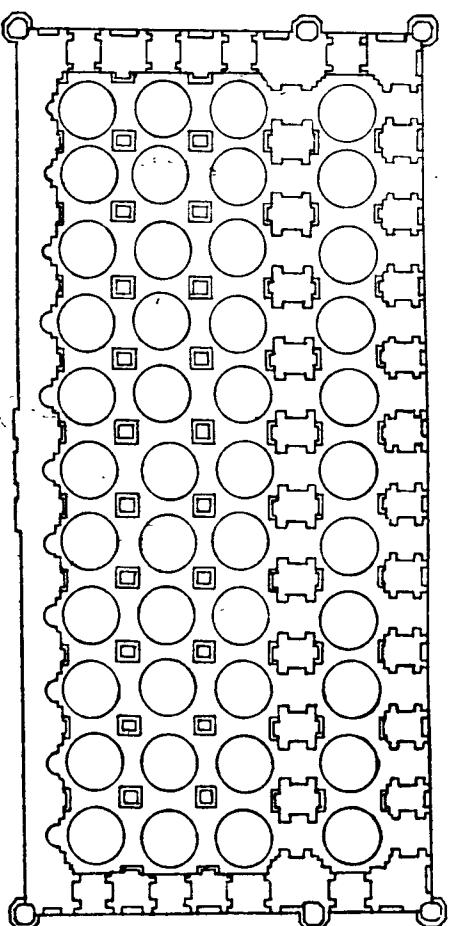
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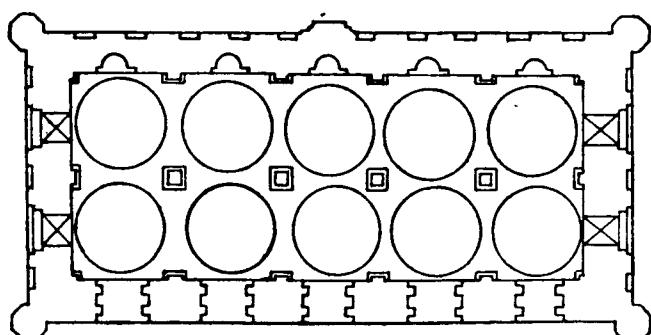
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RITES AND SYMBOLS

by RENÉ GUÉNON

All the constituent elements of a rite, have necessarily a symbolical sense, while on the other hand a symbol itself in its commonest acceptation, as a support for meditation, is destined essentially to give results which are exactly comparable to the results of rites. Let us add that when it is a matter of truly traditional rites and symbols (and ones that are not so do not deserve the name at all, but are really only counterfeits or even parodies), their origins in either case are equally "non-human" ; thus the general impossibility of assigning them any definite author or inventor is not an effect of ignorance as profane historians may suppose (if despair of the question does not reduce them to regarding them as the product of a sort of "collective consciousness" which if it even existed would in any case be quite incapable of producing things of a transcendent order such as these).[1] But it is a natural consequence of these origins which can only be questioned by people who are wholly unaware of the true nature of tradition and of everything that goes to make an integral part of it, as is of course plainly the case both of rites and symbols.

If the fundamental identity of rites and symbols is more closely examined, it may be noted in the first place that a symbol, understood as a graphic figuration as it is most commonly, is only as it were the fixation of a ritual gesture.[2] In fact it often happens that the actual

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1. In this connection what we have said on the subject of so-called folk-lore may be noted, in our article on The Holy Grail (Voile d' Isis, February 1934).—Re. "Rites and Symbols" see ibid., Feb. 1935.

2. These considerations relate directly to what we have called the "theory of gestures" which we have several times had occasion to allude to, but without its having been possible to treat of it up to the present.

tracing of a symbol to be regular must be made under conditions which give it all the characteristics of a true rite ; a very clear example of this in a low domain, that of magic (which is none the less a traditional science), is provided in the preparation of talismanic figures ; and on the plane which more immediately concerns us the tracing of "yantras" in the Hindu tradition is no less striking an example.[1]

But this is not all, for the conception of the symbol we have just refered to is really much too narrow : there are not only figurative or visual symbols, there are also auditory symbols ; we have already pointed out elsewhere this division into two fundamental categories which in the Hindu doctrine are those of the "yantra" and the "mantra".[2]

We even made it clear at the time that their respective predominance was characteristic of the two kinds of rites, which relate in the beginning to the traditions of sedentary peoples in the case of visual symbols and to those of nomadic peoples in the case of auditory ones ; of course it will be understood that between the two no absolute separation can be made (which is why we speak only of predominance), every combination being possible as a result of the multiple adaptations which have come about with the passage of time, and given rise to the various traditional forms which are known to us to-day. These considerations clearly show the bond that exists in a perfectly general way between rites and symbols ; but we may add that in the case of 'mantras' this bond is to be more immediately seen : in fact while the visual symbol, once traced, remains or may remain in a permanent state (which is why we have spoken of a fixed gesture), the auditory symbol on the other hand only becomes manifest in the actual execution of the rite. This difference however is attenuated when there is a correspondence established between visual and auditory symbols, as happens when writing comes into being, which represents a true fixation of sound (not of sound itself as such of course, but of a permanent possibility of reproducing it) ; and it need hardly be recalled in this connection

1. The "tracing board" of the Lodge in ancient Masonry, which indeed formed a true 'yantra', may be likened to it. The rites concerned with the construction of monuments for traditional ends might also be cited as examples here, for monuments of this sort in themselves have necessarily a symbolical character.

2. See our article on "Cain and Abel" (Le Voile d'Isis, January 1932).

that every writing in its origins at least is essentially a symbolical figuration. Indeed it is exactly the same with speech itself whose symbolical character is no less inherent in its very nature : it is quite clear that a word, whatever it may be, can never be anything but a symbol of the idea that it is intended to express. Thus every language, be it spoken or written is truly a body of symbols, and it is precisely for this reason that in spite of all the "naturalistic" theories invented to explain it, language can never be either a more or less artificial human creation nor a simple product of man's individual faculties.[1]

Amongst visual symbols themselves there is also an instance which is fairly comparable to the case of sound symbols in the particular that we have just remarked on : this is the case of symbols which are not traced permanently but only employed as signs in initiatory rites (notably the "signs of recognition" which we have spoken about in our previous articles)[2] and even religious ones (the "sign of the cross" is a typical example known to all) ; here the symbol is truly one with the ritual gesture itself.[3] It would moreover be altogether useless to try to make a third category of symbols of these signs, distinct from the two that we have spoken of : probably certain "psychologists" would like to do so and call them "motor" symbols or some such name ; but as they are plainly made to be perceived by the eye they fall naturally into the category of visual symbols ; and in this category by reason so to speak of their "instantaneity" it is they that offer the greatest likeness to the complementary category of sound symbols. In any case a "graphic" symbol is, we repeat,

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1. We refer our readers here to what we said previously on the subject of the first language ("The Science of Letters", Le Voile d'Isis, February 1931). It goes without saying that the distinction of "sacred tongues" and "profane tongues" only arises secondarily ; with languages as with the arts and sciences, their profanity is only the result of a degeneration (which may arise earlier and more easily in the case of languages on account of their more current and more general use).

2. The "words" of a like purpose fall naturally into the category of sound symbols.

3. A sort of intermediary case is that of the symbolical figures which are traced at the beginning of a rite or preparatory to it, and effaced as soon as it is ended ; such is the case of many 'yantras', and used once to be the same with the "tracing board" of the Lodge in masonry. The practice does not represent a mere precaution against profane curiosity, which as an explanation is always much too simple ; it should be looked on first and foremost as an immediate consequence of the intimate bond uniting symbols and rites, in such a way that the former have no cause for visible subsistence outside the latter.

itself the fixation of a gesture or a movement (the actual movement or series of movements which has to be made to trace it, which these same "psychologists" would doubtless call a "motor scheme"), and in the case of sound symbols one also may say that the movement of the vocal organs which is necessary to produce them (whether it be a matter of uttering ordinary words or musical sounds) is in short a gesture in the same way as all the other kinds of bodily movements, from which in fact it is never possible entirely to isolate it.[1]

Thus the notion of the gesture, in its widest acceptation (which indeed is better in accord with the real meaning of the word than the more restricted acceptation allowed by current usage), brings back all these various cases to unity and allows us to discern in it their common principle, and this fact has a deep significance in the metaphysical domain which we cannot enlarge upon at present.

It will now be easily understood that every rite is literally made up of a body of symbols ; and these in fact include not only the objects used or the figures represented, as one might be tempted to imagine on a superficial understanding, but also the gestures effected and the words pronounced (the latter according to what we have said being really only a particular case of the former), and in short all the elements of the rite without exception ; and these elements thus have the value of symbols by their very nature and not in virtue of any superadded meaning which might have become attached to them from outward circumstances without being really inherent in them. Again it might be said that rites are symbols "put into action", that every ritual gesture is a symbol "acted"[1] ; this in short is only another way of saying the same thing, but putting rather more specially in evidence the characteristic of a rite that like every action it is something which is necessarily performed in time,[2] while the symbol as such may be considered from a timeless stand-

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1. We note especially in this connection the part played in rites by the gestures called in the Hindu tradition 'mudrās' which form a veritable language of movements and attitudes ; the "grips" used as "means of recognition" in initiatory organizations in the West as well as in the East are really only a particular case of 'mudrās'.

2. In Sanscrit the word 'karma' whose first meaning is that of "action" in general, is also used in a "technical" sense to mean "ritual action" in particular ; what it then directly expresses is this same characteristic of the rite that we are noting here.

point. In this sense it is possible to speak of a certain eminence of symbols over rites ; but rites and symbols fundamentally are only two aspects of a single reality, and this is none other than the "correspondence" which binds together all the degrees of universal Existence in such a way that by its means our human state can enter into communication with the higher states of being.

Transl. D. Mac Iver

11

VARDDHAMĀNA-VIDYĀ-PAṬA

by U. P. SHAH

The Varddhamāna Vidyā is a Jain Tāntric 'sādhana' usually practised by the Jain monks. Early 'paṭṭas' of this 'sādhana' are rare.[1] The 'paṭa' is painted on cloth and measures 20″×20″. Red, blue and yellow backgrounds are used for figures painted in yellow, red, blue and dark colours. The 'paṭa' is in a fair state of preservation and belongs to the Śvetambara sect of the Jains.

In the centre (Pl. III) there is the principal figure of Mahāvīra Varddhamāna seated in the 'padmāsana' in the 'dhyāna mudrā'. He wears a crown, loin-cloth, earrings (kuṇḍala), and other ornaments. An U-shaped 'tilaka' mark is seen on his forehead. Mahāvīra sits on a raised platform provided with a back to rest upon. Over him there is an umbrella and above the umbrella there is a 'toraṇa' decorated with parrots and peacocks on the top. The background is blue, the Jina is represented yellow in complexion. A miniature figure of the lion-symbol is seen in the centre of his seat.

On each side of Mahāvīra, in separate sections, is a standing male attendant carrying the fly-whisk in one hand and the water-jar in the other. They wear crowns, 'dhotis', scarfs and ornaments. U-shaped 'tilaka' marks are also to be seen on their foreheads, and their hair, tied into a knot at the back, deserves special notice.

To the extreme right of the Jina, in a separate section, is a figure of the Yakṣa called Brahmaśānti. He is painted yellow and is dressed like the

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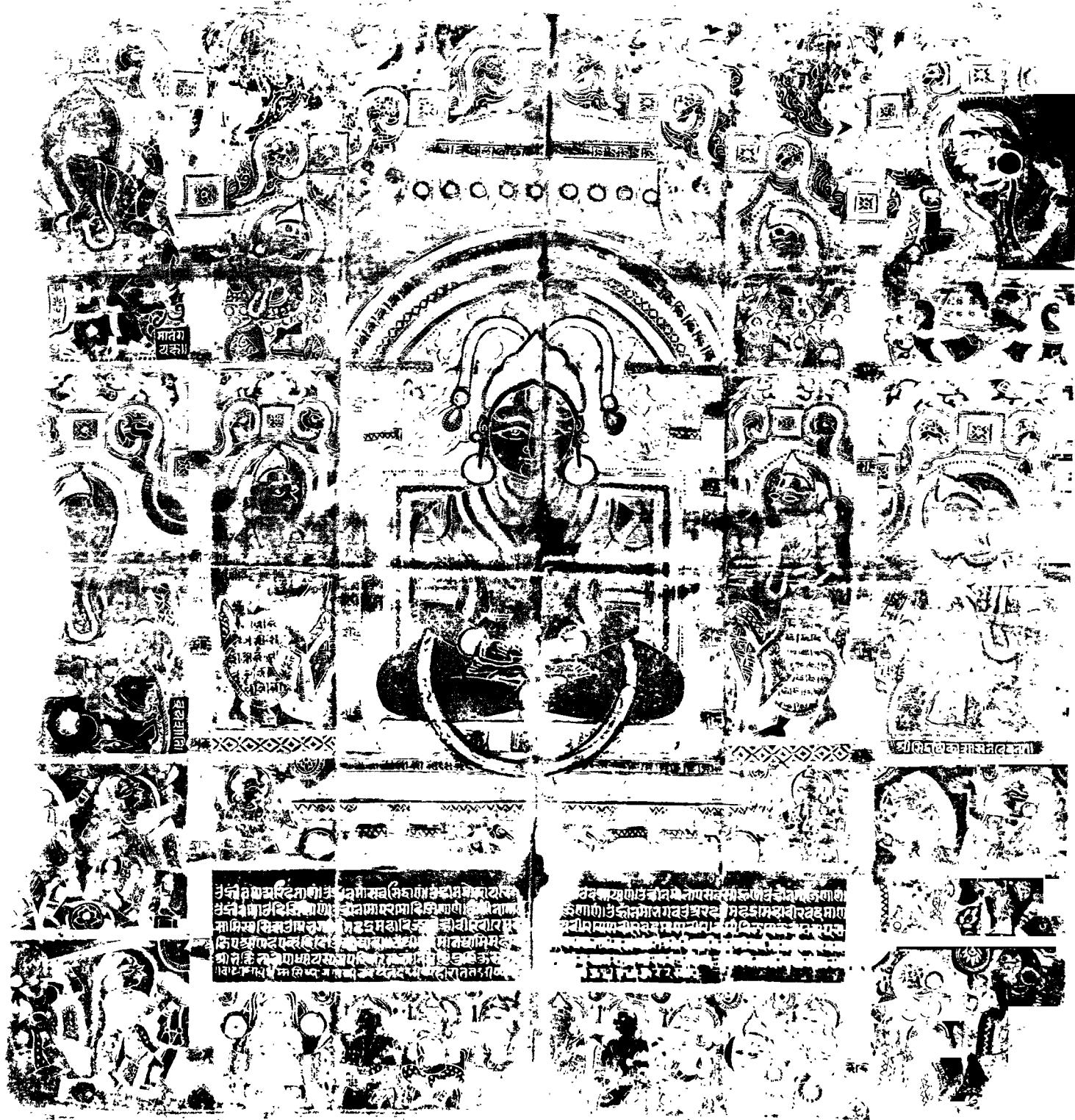
male 'chowrie'-bearers. Brahmaśānti sits in the 'bhadrāsana' with the left foot resting on his bull-vehicle, and carries the trident in his right upper hand while the right lower shows the 'pravacana mudrā'. The symbol of his left upper hand is not distinct while the left lower shows the 'varada mudrā'.

The corresponding figure on the left is the Yakṣī Siddhāyikā who is known to be the Śāsanadevatā of Mahāvīra. Yellow in complexion and four-armed, she sits in 'bhadrāsana' on a raised seat. Her right upper hand shows the 'varada' pose while the right lower carries the lotus. The left upper hand holds the bow while the symbol of the left lower is not clear. The Yakṣī wears a green bodice, a lower garment with red and blue designs, a crown, a scarf, a garland and ornaments.

In the section just above her is a figure of Sarasvatī, seated in 'bhadrāsana', with two swans beside her feet. White in complexion, she carries the book and the rosary in the right hands and the lotus and the 'vīṇā' in the left ones.[1] Her dress and ornaments are very similar to those of Siddhāyikā.

In the corresponding right upper end of the 'paṭa' is the Yakṣa of Mahāvīra, Mātaṅga by name. He ought to have been represented in the section in which Brahmaśānti is placed, for the Yakṣa and the Yakṣinī of a Tīrthaṅkara are generally represented to the right and the left of their master.[2] In our painting, Mātaṅga has a beard and moustache and in all other respects he is dressed like Brahmaśānti. Yellow in complexion he rides on the elephant and carries a trident and a club in his two upper hands while the right and the left lower ones show the 'pravacana' and the 'varada mudrā' respectively.

Above the 'chowrie'-bearers there are two small sitting figures of musicians or 'gandharvas' playing on flutes. Above these again are two beautiful flying figures of 'vidyādharas'. Below the figures of the 'chowrie'-bearers there are two small four-armed figures, one on each side. It is not possible to identify them.

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1. Discussed by me in "Iconography of the Jain Goddess Sarasvatī," JUB., September, 1941.
2. Cf. स्थिरेतरयोः पादपीठस्थायी यथायथम् ।
   वाह्ननं दक्षिणे पार्श्वे यक्षं यक्षीं च वामके ॥ ७७ ॥
   Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra, p. 9.

Down below on a long panel in the centre are represented small figures of the nine planets on a red background. They are : (1) Sūrya, of red complexion, seated with legs raised and crossed ; (2) Candra, white, in 'bhadrāsana', and carrying a pitcher in the right hand and a lotus in the left ; (3) Maṅgala, red, with the same symbols as those of Candra ; (4) Budha, green, carrying the pitcher and the lotus ; (5) Guru, yellow, with the same symbols ; (6) Śukra, white, carrying the same symbols ; (7) Śani, dark-grey, holding the pitcher and the lotus ; (8) Rāhu, dark-grey, his head alone, with a crown on it and a 'tilaka' on the forehead, on the point of swallowing the moon ; (9) and Ketu, half human and half 'nāga', dark-grey in colour, and carrying the pitcher and the lotus. In the Ṛṣimaṇḍalapaṭa in Muni Śrī Puṇyavijayajī's collections[1] and the 'paṭa' of Pārśvanātha published by Dr. Coomaraswamy,[2] the planets are similarly represented. The iconography follows the rules laid down in the Nirvāṇakalikā.[3]

To the right and the left of this panel of planets, and below Brahmaśānti and Siddhāyikā are represented, in two sections on each side, figures of female dancers with red and yellow background. Each section has two dancing females and the figures in the two lower sections are seen playing on musical instruments. One dancer has a flute, another a 'mṛdaṅga', two more use cymbals ('mañjirās' in the vernacular), and a fifth blows a pipe. These females wear bodices of red, blue, white, green or olive green colours and lower garments and are bare below the knees. The hair is woven into a long braid at the back. Circular 'tilaka' marks are seen on their foreheads.

Just above the panel of the planets we find the following, written in red letters : (line 1) ॐ ह्रीं नमो अरिहंताणं । ॐ ह्रीं नमो सव्वसिद्धाणं । ॐ ह्रीं नमो आयरिआणं । ॐ ह्रीं नमो उवज्झायाणं । ॐ ह्रीं नमो लोए सव्वसाहुणं । ॐ ह्रीं नमो जिणाणं (line 2) ॐ ह्रीं नमो ओहि जिणाणं । ॐ ह्रीं नमो परमोहिजिणाणं । ॐ ह्रीं नमो ——हि जिणाणं । ॐ ह्रीं नमो भगवओ अरहओ महइ । महावीर वद्धमाण । (line 3)

1. Published in the IHQ., Vol. XIV no. 3, by Dr. Hirananda Shastri.

2. Journal of Indian Art, 1914.

3. "Nirvāṇakalikā", pp. 38-39. A metal image with all the planets similarly carved, and belonging to the sixteenth century, is lying in the collections of Mr. Umar Usmān, a curio merchant in Baroda. Such loose figures of planets are very rare in Jain worship.

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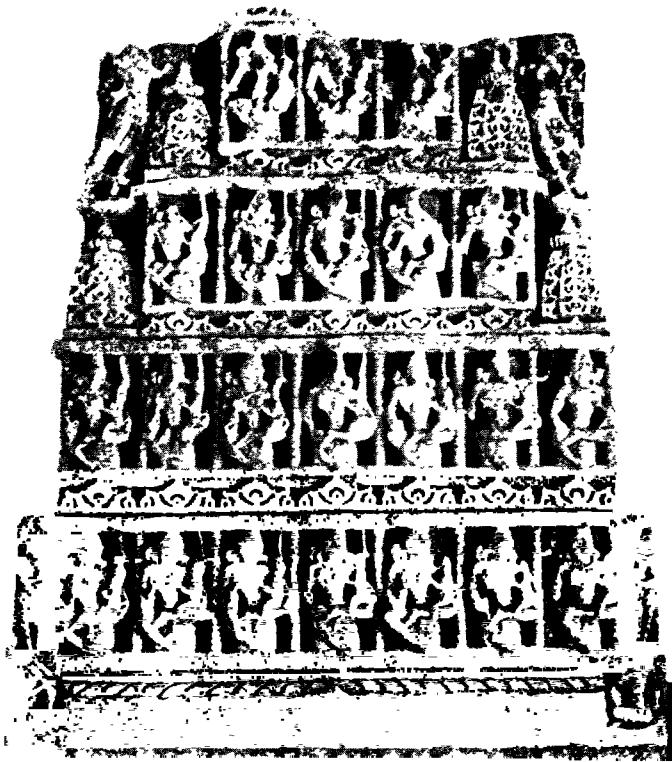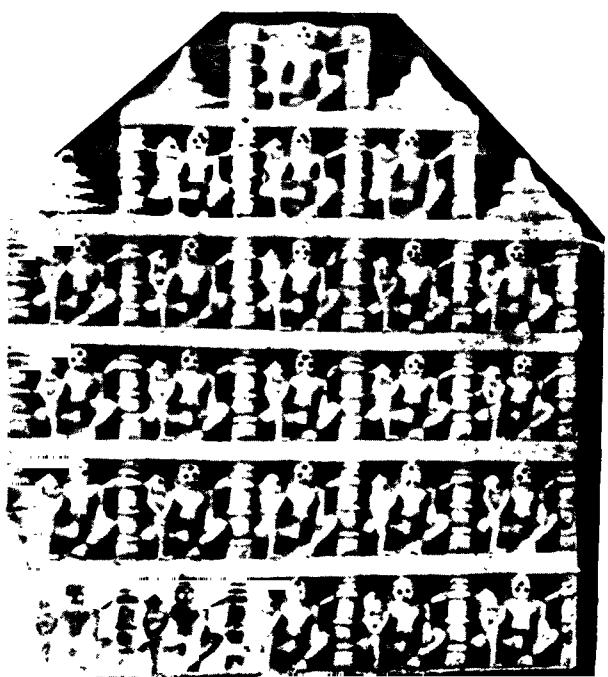
सामिस्स सिज्झउ मे भगवई महइ महाविज्जा । ॐ ह्रीं वीरे महावीरे जयवीरे सेणवीरे वद्धमानवीरे जये विजये जयन्ते अपरा (line 4) जिए मणिहए ऋद्धिदे । ॐ ह्रीं स्वाहा । ॐ ह्रीं वर्धमानस्वामि महावीरदेवपदभक्ताश्री ब्रह्मशांति श्री सिद्धायिका श्रीवर्धमानविद्यादेवता (line 5) श्री भक्तिलाभोपा- ध्यायस्य सपरिवारस्य शांति तुष्टि पुष्टि कुरु कुरु स्व——उ० श्री जयसागर उ० श्रीरत्नचंद्रशिष्यं उ० भक्तिलाभस्य सौख्य' कुरु ॥

The above contains the Varddhamāna Vidyā in the first four lines ; the fifth line shows that the 'paṭa' was for the peace, prosperity and happiness of Upādhyāya Bhaktilābha and his followers. Bhaktilābha is called here the pupil of Upādhyāya Ratnacandra and the grand-pupil of Upādhyāya Jayasāgara. The sixth line is written in black letters and is a later addition by some one who was a pupil of Hira (?), the pupil of Udayānanda, the pupil of Bhāvadharmma.

This Jayasāgara belonged to the 'kharatara gaccha' and was the pupil of Jinarāja Sūri. He was given the title of Upādhyāya in V. S. 1475, at the hands of Jinabhadra Sūri.[1] Bhaktilābha cannot, therefore, be placed later than V. S. 1520 or A. D. 1464. Our 'paṭa,' therefore, must have been prepared not later than 1470 A. D., and is the only old 'paṭa' of Varddhamāna Vidyā hitherto known.

The 'paṭa' published by Dr. Coomaraswamy in JISOA, Dec., 1935, Pl. XXVI, called 'The Brimming Vase' can now be identified as the Ṛsimaṇḍala-paṭa (Ṛsimaṇḍala paṭa no. 1). This as well as the 'paṭa' published by Dr. Hirananda Shastri (Ṛsimaṇḍala paṭa no. 2) follow the 'vidhi' prescribed for the 'yantras' or diagrams of the Ṛsimaṇḍala. Representations of the various deities on canvas over and above the mystic diagram are an additional feature. But there are also 'paṭas' without any tāntric diagram. We can, therefore, group these 'paṭas' into two classes, one with tāntric diagrams and the other, merely a 'citrapaṭa,' not necessarily following any tāntric 'vidhi.' To this second class belongs the first Jain 'paṭa' published by Dr. Coomaraswamy.[2] It is a 'paṭa' of Pārśvanātha ; with it can be compared another much later 'paṭa' of 'Sahasra-phaṇā-Pārśvanātha' (i. e. Pārśvanātha with a thousand snake-hoods overhead) published by

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1. "History of Jain Literature" (in Gujarati), by M. D. Desai, pp. 474, 592.
2. "Notes on Jaina Art", Journal of Indian Art, 1914.

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Sarabhai Nawab.[1] It represents in the centre the scene of Kamaṭha's Upasarga,[2] or the attack of Kamaṭha. In four sections at the corners it represents the Śatruñjaya, the Aṣṭāpada, the Girnār, and the Sammet Śikhara, the four great Jain 'tīrthas'. This 'paṭa' therefore, also belongs to the second class and is a mere 'citrapaṭa' and not a tāntric 'citrapaṭa'. Our Varddhamāna-vidyā-paṭa, though it gives the actual Varddhamāna Vidyā, does not contain the 'yantra' or diagram prescribed in the texts.

Artistically this 'paṭa' is superior to the Ṛṣimaṇḍala-paṭa no. 2, while the Ṛṣimaṇḍala-paṭa no. 1, though much worn has a higher quality and appears to be somewhat older. In our 'paṭa' the treatment of animal forms—the elephant and the bull and the two swans of Sarasvatī—is especially good, and shows the hand of a skilled artist. Gold is used in crowns, ornaments and floral and architectural designs.

II

Worship of 'paṭas' is known to Jainism from very early times and the 'āyāga-paṭas' from the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā,[3] are the earliest specimens. Hemacandra also refers to certain 'bali-paṭṭas' with the eight auspicious Jain symbols.[4] The Jain 'śrāvaka' or 'śrāvikā' living the life of a householder is often described in the Āgamas as performing 'bali-karman' after the bath.[5] Very probably this 'bali-karman' or giving of offerings (either to tutelary deities or to the Jain gods) was done on the 'bali-paṭṭa' later described by Hemacandra. The inscriptions on the 'āyāga-paṭas' show that these tablets were for the 'pūjā' or worship of the Arhats or the Jinas. It may be remembered that some of these 'āyāga-paṭas' from

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1. "Jaina Citrakalpadruma" (in Gujarati), plate xcviii, fig. 282.

2. For miniatures of Kamaṭha's Upasarga, see, Brown, "Miniature Paintings of the Jain Kalpa-sutra", figs. 97-98, p. 44.

3. See Smith's "The Jain Stupa and other Antiquities of Mathura", plates vii-xiii ; Ep. Ind., vol. II, pp. 311ff.

4. तोरणानामधस्तेषां वलिपट्टे शिवोंयकं: ।
मङ्गलाष्टचिह्नानि स्वस्तिकादीनि जग्मिरे ॥

Triṣaṣṭi. 1, 3, 431.

5. Cf. for example, "Nāyādhammakahāo", (N. V. Vaidya's ed.) XII, p. 135 and XVI, p. 181.
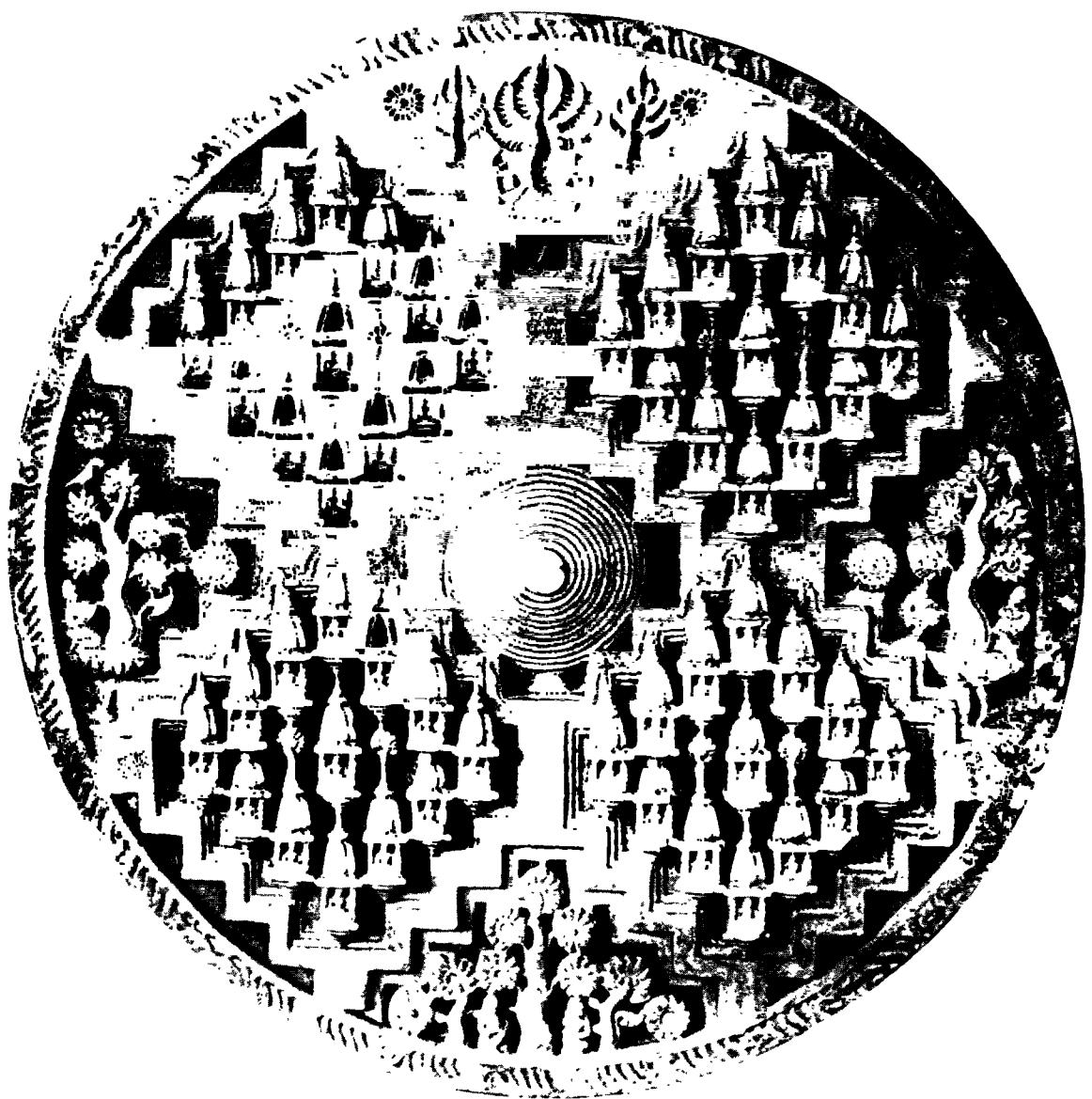
Mathurā have representations of the svastika, the fish, etc., which are also seen in the list of eight auspicious symbols.[1]

In medieval times also, stone 'paṭas' or plaques were carved and set up for worship in the temples. Amongst these the Siddhacakra of earlier origin is especially noteworthy (Pl. IV, Fig. 1). It is meant for the worship of the nine most important 'padas' or Dignities in Jainism which include the Pañcaparameṣṭhins (the Arhat, the Siddha, the Ācārya, the Upādhyāya, and the Sādhu) and the Four-fold Religion (consisting of the 'samyak-darśana', right faith, 'samyak-jñāna', right knowledge, 'samyak-cāritra', right conduct and 'tapas', austerities).[2] Worship of this type of diagrams is common to both the sects, but the Digambaras substitute the 'dharma-cakra', the 'sthāpanā', the Jain temple and a figure of the Tīrthaṅkara for the Four-fold Religion in the Śvetambara diagram (Pl. IV, Fig. 2). The Ṛsimaṇḍala, the Varddhamāna Vidyā, and the Sūrimantra are the three most highly revered diagrams worshipped by Jain saints from very early times. These are traditionally handed down and the guru imparts the knowledge of any of these tāntric forms of worship after due initiation only. Old specimens of the Sūrimantra-paṭa have not been as yet discovered, though literary works prescribing the 'sādhana' and the 'yantra-vidhi' are already known and published. Besides these there are the Hrīm-kāra[3] and the Vijaya-yantra, 'paṭas' for both of which are known to have existed. This shows the popularity of the tāntric 'paṭas' in Jainism. In the tāntric 'sādhanas', one is asked to prepare a diagram on a 'paṭa' (board or canvas) and worship it with offerings.[4] Hence the necessity of such 'paṭas'. But in all such cases the diagram with the mystic syllables is of utmost importance and the introduction of painted forms of the deities in the diagram removes the monotony of the tāntric formulae.

But there is another class of religious 'paṭas' on stone, corresponding to the 'citrapaṭas' discussed above, non-tāntric in character and worshipped in Jain temples. Earlier Jain texts provide ample evidence of the popula-

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1. Cf. The list given by Nāyādhammakahāo. I, p; 32 :—
   सोत्थिय सिरिवच्छ नंदियावत्त वड्ढमाणग भद्दासण कलस मच्छजुयल ।
2. "Sirisirivālakahā", verses 190-194.
3. "Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Boston Museum", Part IV, pl. XXXIX.
4. Cf. "Vardhamāna-Vidyā-Kalpa" of Vācaka Candrasena, p. 24.

rity of wall-paintings, portrait-paintings, and painted screens.[1] In the story of Tarangavatī, originally composed by Pādalipta (c. second century A. D.), the heroine is said to make use of a 'citrapata'.[2] Śīlāṅka Sūri who flourished in the ninth century A. D., refers to paintings from the life of Neminātha.[3] In India, all knowledge and arts have been brought to the service of religion from very early times and it is quite reasonable to infer the existence of paintings of Jain Jātaka scenes contemporaneous with such representations in stone. And the Jain sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa period found at Mathurā as also the sculptured friezes of the Orissan Jain caves show that representations of such scenes on stone had been popular in the early centuries of the Christian era. The 'āyāga-paṭa' itself is a sort of a 'citrapata'. Quite a large number of such religious 'patas' or 'citrapatas' dating from the eleventh century onwards have been preserved in various Jain temples.

Firstly, loose slabs showing the group of the twenty-four Jain Madonnas—the Mothers of the Jinas sitting with their sons on the lap— have been very widely worshipped. Of these the earliest dated 'pata' known to me comes from Osiā in Jodhpur State (Pl. IV, Fig. 3) and is dated in the year 1075 V. S. Several more slabs of varied sizes are found at Ābu, Pāṭan (Pl. IV, Fig. 4), Girnār, and other places. Secondly, there are 'patas' of the Nandīśvara-dvīpa, the Śatruñjaya-tīrtha and the like carved in various sizes and with greater opportunities for introduction of artistic variations. A beautiful 'pata' of the Nandīśvara-dvīpa with the fifty-two Śāśvata-Jinālayas or 'eternal temples'[4] represented on it comes from Rāṇakapura in the same State (Pl. V). A plaque, labelled as 'śatruñjaya-girināra-paṭṭikā', also preserved in the same temple, represents the Śatruñjaya and the Girnār 'tīrthas' (Pl. VI). A third type, much more popular, is the representation of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras in a group

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1. "Nāyādhammakahāo", I, p. 3 ; VIII, pp. 106ff ; XIII, p, 142 ; Uttarādhyaṇa (S. B. E., XLV), lecture XXXV, verse 4 ; Kalpa-sūtra (S. B. E. XXII) p. 244.

2. "Tarangavatī" (abridged by Nemicandra Sūri in the eleventh century A. D., the earlier text being now lost), verses 455-466.

3. "Chaupana-Mahāpuruṣa-cariyam", ms. no. 758, Haṃsavijaya's Collections, Baroda.

4. For a description of the Nandīśvara-dvīpa see, "Triṣaṣṭi", I (G. O. S. vol. LI), pp. 395ff.

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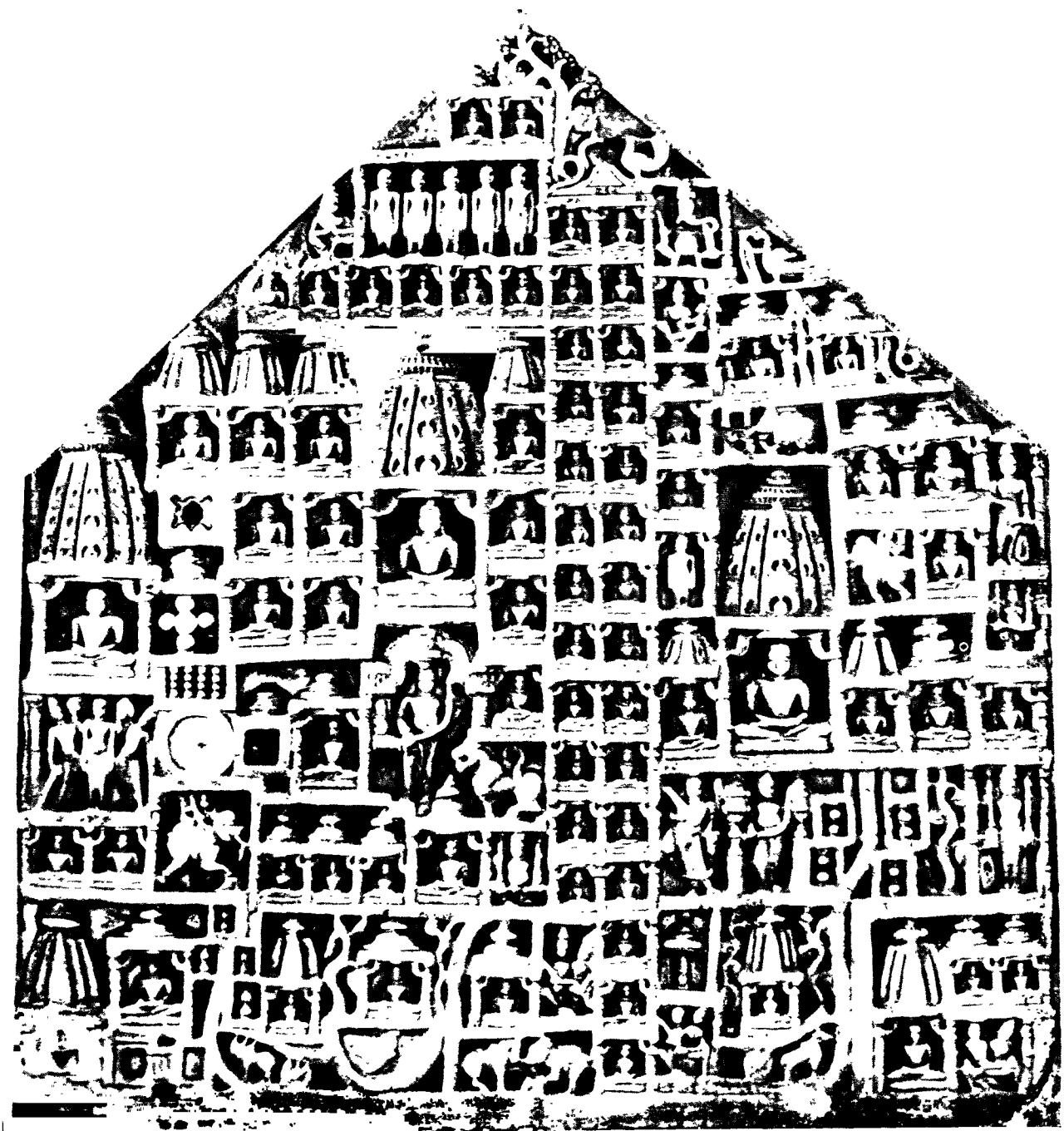
on a single loose slab (Pl. VII, Figs. 1 and 2).[1] Sometimes the hundred-and seventy Jinas are all represented together, each of these figures being in the same posture and showing no difference whatsoever in form. In metal images also, we find a group of twenty-four Jinas with any one of them in the centre. Such figures are most numerous and of various sizes and shapes. Many of these are inscribed on the back and we often find the word 'caturviṃśati-paṭa' used for them in such inscriptions. Another interesting type is illustrated by the Sahasraphaṇā-Pārśvanātha-paṭa (Pl. VIII) from Rāṇakapura. Though very late it is the only sculpture of its type hitherto discovered. A painting of Sahasraphaṇā-Pārśvanātha-paṭa is already refered to above. A fifth type represents the Jain conception of the cosmos and the two-and-a-half islands and is often met with in paintings. All excepting the last type of 'paṭas' are set up in temples for worship. There is a sixth type which is generally set up in ceilings and is, therefore, not accessible to the pious worshipper. It can be included amongst the 'citrapaṭas' as it represents, in one single slab, all the principal events in the life of a Tīrthaṅkara, which are well known as the five 'kalyāṇakas'. One of the ceilings in the temple built by Tejapāla at Ābu, shows scenes from the life of Neminātha. The same Jātaka is illustrated in a ceiling slab in 'bhāva 16' of the temple built by Vimala-shāh at Ābu, while 'bhāva 15' in the same temple represents the 'kalyāṇakas' of a Jina. A loose 'paṭa' on stone representing the well-known Jātaka of Aśvāvabodha and the Śakunikā-vihāra is being worshipped in cell 19 of the temple of Tejapāla at Ābu (Pl. VII, Fig. 3).

This enumeration is not exhaustive but it includes most of the important types of 'paṭas' of a non-tāntric character. Add to these the 'āyāga-paṭas' and the 'paṭas' on metal of the eight auspicious things (Pl. VII, Fig. 4) found in most of the Jain temples.

Jainism prescribes not only the tāntric diagrams which are enumerated above. The extant Jain tāntric literature of both the sects

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1. Pl. VII, Fig. 1 is preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay ; Pl. VII, Fig. 2, from Surchor, Dinajpur district, is preserved in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society. (The photograph of Pl. VII, Fig. 2 is copyright, ASI.)

requires separate treatment. It may however be noted that quite a large number of different tāntric diagrams on metal are found in the Śvetambara and Digambara temples. But for only a few of these 'paṭas' canvas was used.

The above is only a digression and its purpose is to demonstrate the antiquity and popularity of various 'paṭas' on stone and canvas in Jain ritual and worship. It shows the existence of two principal types of 'paṭas'—tāntric and non-tāntric—on stone, metal or canvas.

III

Tāntric texts like the Rṣimaṇḍala-kalpa, the Sūrimantra-kalpa, the Hrīm-kāra-kalpa, and the Varddhamāna-vidyā-kalpa are available in the Jain Bhāṇḍāras and some of these have been recently published by Muni Prītivijayajī. A Varddhamāna-vidyā-kalpa was composed by Siṃhatilaka sūri,[1] the pupil of Vibudhacandra and the grand-pupil of Yaśodeva sūri of the 'kharatara gaccha'. The same writer has written another work on 'mantra-śāstra' called the Mantrarāja-rahasya in V. S. 1322 ; the Varddhamāna-vidyā-kalpa therefore dates from the middle of the thirteenth century A. D.[2] In the opening verse, Siṃhatilaka sūri says that his work is based upon an older work of the revered Śrī Candrasena who had composed a similar text from the older traditions handed down from the Ācāryas and the Gaṇabhṛt-mantra.[3] Muni Śrī Prītivijayajī has published the Varddhamāna-vidyā-kalpa of Vācaka Candrasena.

The Varddhamāna Vidyā can claim great antiquity. According to the Jain traditions given by Siṃhatilaka sūri the Gaṇadhara or the first disciple (of Mahāvīra) is its author. In the 'kalpa' of Vācaka Candrasena we find : अथ तृतीयपीठसूचितो वज्रस्वामिकृतो वर्धमानविद्याकल्पः प्रकाश्यते ;[4] this shows that his work was based upon a similar composition of Vajrasvāmi who

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1. Ms. no. 1113. Pravartaka Śrī Kāntivijayajī's collections, Baroda.
2. श्री चंद्रसेनपूज्याः षाचार्यपरं परागतं कल्पे ।
   गणभृद्वादेन व्यक्तं चक्र......क्रौमि ॥ २ ॥
3. History of Jain literature (in Gujarati), p. 413.
4. Varddhamāna-Vidyā-Kalpa of Vācaka Candrasena, p. 24. The date of composition of this work is not certain.

flourished in the first century A. D. Subodhā Sāmācāri of Candra sūri lays down that the Varddhamāna Vidyā has to be recited on the occasion of confering the title of an Upādhyāya on a Jain monk.[1] This Candra sūri's writing activity is known to have extended from c. 1169 V. S. to c. 1228 V. S.[2] But a much earlier evidence of the existence of this Vidyā is furnished by the Mahānisītha Sūtra, composed by the Gaṇadhara and reedited by Haribhadra sūri. The Vidyā is given at the end of the Sūtra.[3]

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1. Subodhā Sāmācāri, p. 19.
2. M. D. Desai's History of Jain Literature, p, 343.
3. Ms. no. 165 g 1881-82, B. O. R.I., folio 56.

THE INNER SIGNIFICANCE OF LINGA-WORSHIP

by SVĀMĪ HARIHARĀNAND SARASVATĪ

According to verses of Vedas such as शान्तं शिवं चतुर्थमन्यन्ते, "Śiva who is absolute peace is said to be the fourth stage"[1] (Māndukya Upaniṣad) the principle called Śiva is said to be the supreme being and supreme spirit, the basis of the universe, the perfect light by which all things appear. In absolute reality, this supreme being is without qualities or forms, but through its inconceivable divine power of joy it appears with qualities and forms as a homogeneous (घन) entity of truth, consciousness and bliss. It is this principle which manifests itself in the shape of Śiva and Śakti, Rādhā and Krṣṇa, the primordial hermaphrodite (Arddhanārīśvara), etc. There is no joy (आनन्द) without existence, and no existence without joy. By speaking of खप्रकाश सत्ताकूप आनन्द "self-illumined bliss in the form of existence", bliss is shown as distinct from the physical aspect of pleasure ; and by saying that "existence is the form of bliss" existence is freed from the notion of inertia. Just as sweetness is the very nature of the ocean of Ambrosia, Pārvatī also is the very nature (खरूप) of Śiva, one could say his soul (आत्मा). There is no "object of pleasure" (sweetness माधुर्यं) without pleasure (आनन्द), nor pleasure without an object of pleasure (sweetness).

From another point of view,

सर्वयोनिषु कौन्तेय मूर्तयः संभवन्ति याः ।
तासां ब्रह्म महद्योनिरहं बीजप्रदः पिता ॥

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1. By the fourth stage (चतुर्थं) is meant that which is beyond the conditions of waking, dream, and deep sleep (जाग्रत खप्न सुषुप्ति), that is beyond the limits of creation. Similarly it can be said that the universe being limited to three dimensions, the fourth dimension represents that which is beyond the universe, that is infinity.

"The matrix of all the things born from all the wombs, that is the mother from which all are issued, is Prakṛti (pre-matter) and I am the father, Śiva (the phallus) who gives the seed (life)." This means that it is the basic Prakṛti (pre-matter) and the supreme being who, like a mother and father (yoni and liṅga), give birth to all forms (things). Just as, in the world, when they desire progeny, men fecundate women, in the same way, according to the words of the Vedas: एकोऽहं बहुःस्यां प्रजायेय "I am one, for creation let me be many", the supreme principle, in a desire of progeny or of multiplicity, fecundates Prakṛti.

सोऽकामयत "He desired". This desire which takes the shape of a wish to create is the first supernatural Eros. United to Prakṛti by this desire, God gives birth to innumerable worlds. This desire is also a part of of God. कामस्तु वासुदेवांशः (Bhāgavata) "Desire is a portion of Him who dwells everywhere (Vāsudeva)."[1]

In the world also the main object of love, lust or desire is nothing but happiness (आनन्द). For pleasure itself the lust is direct while other things are desired because they are the means of pleasure. This is why bliss (आनन्द) and its form which is Ātmā (the universal soul) are the objects of absolute love which is superior to anything else and in which nothing can interfere. Other things are the object of a relative love subject to alterations.

The lust of the sexual man for the sexual woman exists because he believes her to be a source of pleasure and the cause of his pleasure. In the heart which aches from lust or thirst the bliss which is the true nature of the soul does not appear. But when the desired woman is possessed the heart is for one instant freed from that thirst; this is sufficient to create some peace in it which allows the bliss of the spirit to be seen in the mind. But the joy really resides in the spirit, that is in the 'freedom from want' through which this joy manifests itself. This the wise only know, but those who ignore it cannot realise that the spirit is bliss itself. They do not even understand that pleasure (आनन्द) is produced by the undoing of desire. They

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1. Vāsudeva is also a name of Kṛṣṇa.

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believe that pleasure is in the woman in whom their desire ends. Therefore they again desire her and when possessing her they again experience relief from the pain of desire—that is pleasure—and so they wish for her always.

Those who possess more discernment understand that although some bliss is felt after the possession of a woman, still woman is not directly a form of bliss. It is in the mind pacified by the relief from desire that the bliss of the spirit appears. In relation to pleasure, woman[1] is only a very secondary cause and it is only through an illusion that she is considered as a source of pleasure or as being herself pleasure. Just as someone who has eaten poison finds a sweet taste in the bitter leaves of the Nim tree, similarly it is only under the influence of some error or illusion that one sees a woman of flesh in an aura of bliss.

But love, pleasure and desire whose true object is the spirit—that is pure bliss—are real. They are an integral part of the spirit. This is why the one spirit is said to deserve immaterial love. But here love, that which loves and the object of love are not distinct from each other. Love, bliss and pleasure are all aspects of the spirit. All the universe is issued from this pleasure of bliss, therefore it is unavoidably found in everything. And because materialised (सोपाधिक) bliss and materialised love can be said to be everywhere it can also be said that woman is a materialised shape of pleasure. She can also be therefore an object of materialised love. But real love which is immaterial (निरुपाधिक) should go to the immaterial spirit (आत्मा). In physical existence things are either useful or harmful, to be accepted or to be rejected, while non-physical existence is pure spirit. Similarly there are forms of physical joy and love which are to be accepted, while others should be rejected. Deities, their beauty and appeal, are useful and love for them is beneficial while the beauty of prostitutes is harmful and their love to be rejected. Just as the purest milk kept in an impure

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1. Here by 'woman' is meant: 'the thing enjoyed' in general. Absolute maleness or femaleness does not exist in the manifested world, where everything is a mixture of these two principles. Whenever there is desire of pleasure this proceeds from the male principle, while the thing enjoyed represents the female principle. If we consider the desire of the woman for the man and her pleasure it is she who is the male principle and he the female one.

pot is considered polluted, pleasure and love also become bad through the influence of impure contacts. The pleasure and love which is found in things prohibited by religion (शास्त्र) is a fault and should be given up. But that pleasure and love which is immaterial, free from contingencies, truly belongs to the supreme spirit. Undoubtedly bliss and love are everywhere, still the love for sensuous women who are also truly a part of God (आत्मा) but are spoiled by impure things, is called lust or passion, while the love which has divinity as its object is called devotion or faith.

Attraction can exist only between similar things. Love or desire is only such an attraction. Lust is the respective attraction or desire of each of the lovers for the bliss which is to be found in the other. The inclination of the total being (समष्टि अह) towards Prakṛti is the divine Eros. Attraction towards the homogeneous entity of existence-consciousness-bliss (i. e. the supreme spirit), or better, the attraction or the supreme immaterial love of the spirit for its own shape—which is in no way distinct from itself—is the very nature of the spirit. This is the mutual love, the mutual attraction of the entities Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, Gaurī-Śaṅkara or the hermaphrodite (Arddhanārīśvara) and this is pure love, that is the absolute Eros. This absolute Eros (Kāmeśvara) represents the nature of Kṛṣṇa. The Eros (मन्मथ) who spreads in all this world is but a drop of desire (Kāma) while the primordial (absolute) Eros (साक्षात्मन्मथ) is the ocean of desire through which the ruler of all the worlds gives forth his seed into Prakṛti. But the attraction of Kṛṣṇa Candra[1]—sum and essence of all beauty and sweetness, personification of all the nectar of bliss towards Rādhā, the deity who is his own form and presides over his manifestation—is the love of love [the arrow of love which wounds Eros himself]. His absolute beauty is so marvellous that he is himself bewildered by it. Like moonbeams glitter the jewel-like nails of his feet; having had a glimpse of it, lust (Kāma) became intoxicated with love. He lost all notion of malehood and femalehood and decided : "even if I have

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1. The obscurity of ignorance is removed by two luminaries, one Candra, the moon, whose light is pleasant and delicious and the other Sūrya, the sun, whose light is painful and burning. As an allusion to this comparison the avatārs of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa are given the epithet of Candra.

to do austerities for thousands of lives I must contrive to be born once a shepherd girl in order to caress the jewel like nails of the feet of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. But already Śrī Kṛṣṇa enamoured of himself had decided to experience the feelings of the shepherd girls and so as to know this pleasure had thought of doing austerities. Here the pure supreme quiddity (परमतत्त्व) is that very love or lust, that pure attraction which binds Śiva to Śakti, which is the nature of the hermaphrodite (Arddhanāriśvara[1]). When in the form of the hermaphrodite, Gaurī who is existence (sat) and Śiva who is consciousness (cit) unite (that is experience bliss) absolute Sat-cit-ānanda (existence, consciousness and bliss) is manifested ; their difference was only apparent as in reality all the three elements (Gaurī, Śiva and their mutual attraction) are one.

Some philosophers say that the perfect Beauty can see its own image reflected in itself ; that God seeing his own form becomes bewildered. विस्मापनं खस्य च सौभग�: "By His own beauty himself astonished".

In this way love or lust appears, Śiva and Śakti unite, and the passion of love (श्रृंगाररस) is born. This is represented by the supreme entities Eros-Psyche (Kāmeśvara-Kāmeśvarī), Śrī Kṛṣṇa-Rādhā and the hermaphrodite (Arddhanāriśvara). Perfect beauty is infinite, the beauty of the Apsarases is nothing compared to it. With one atom of this beauty, Viṣṇu taking the shape of the Enchantress (Mohinī) seduced Śiva. With a touch of it Cupid (मदन) defeats the sages (मुनि). In its manifested form it appears sometimes as Lalitā, sometimes as Kṛṣṇa. षोड़शी तु कला येया सच्चिदानन्दरूपिणी (Subhagodaya) "The sixteenth digit[2] is considered as representing existence-consciousness-bliss (sat-cit-ānanda)". नित्यं किशोर एवासौ भगवानन्तकात्मकः "God in whom everything ends remains an adolescent (of 16 years).

Sometimes the primordial Lalitā taking a male shape becomes Kṛṣṇa. By the sound of her flute she enchants (मोहन) the world.

कदाचिदाद्या ललिता पुंरूपा कृष्णविग्रहा ।

वंशीनादसमारम्भादकरोद्विवशं जगत् । (Tantrarāja)

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1. See Pl. IX.

2. The number sixteen represents fullness and perfection. Therefore when the moon gets its sixteenth digit it is the full moon. After the age of sixteen years decline begins. This is why God is said to be always sixteen years old (i. e. perfect) ; etc..

Beyond Prakṛti (प्रकृतिपार) in the supreme being, essence of bliss, of beauty, of sweetness appears the notion of being Śiva and Pārvatī. This Śiva and Śakti represents the dualism which exists in Brahma as soon as the power of manifestation (śakti), source of innumerable worlds, appears. This dualism in the supreme being is symbolised by the liṅga and the yoni.

The symbol of the supreme man (puruṣa), or of the formless, the changeless, the eye which sees everything, is the liṅga ; and the symbol of the great power, Prakṛti (nature), from whom the egg of the immense universe issues is the yoni (womb) which is also called Arghā or Jalaharī.[1] There can not be creation from Puruṣa only nor from Prakṛti only. Puruṣa (spirit) is changeless and motionless, Prakṛti (matter) unconscious and passive. For creation to take place the union of Him who sees and That which is seen (द्रक् द्रश्य) of Puruṣa and Prakṛti is necessary. In the Gītā even, Prakṛti is spoken of as the womb (yoni) of God.

मम योनिर्महद्ब्रह्म तस्मिन् गर्भं दधाम्यहम् ।
सम्भवः सर्वभूतानां ततो भवति भारत ॥

The Lord speaks : "That which is the principle of universal intellect (mahat-brahma)—i. e. Prakṛti—is my womb, I procreate in it and from it the first element (universal intellect—mahat) is born and then in hierarchy all things and creatures." Without the relation of sexes, nowhere and in no way can there be creation. This is a fact, still it would be well to understand that there is no question here of physical sexuality but of an all-pervading principle. It is the symbol of the supreme man (puruṣa) which is the creative principle called 'liṅga'. The 'element whose visible form has the shape of an egg'[2] (द्रश्य अण्डरूप ब्रह्म) and which is called liṅga, symbolises the invisible supreme man (puruṣa-brahma) which is the very principle of creation. One should not consider the words liṅga and yoni

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1. In this case it is sometimes represented as separate from the liṅga ; it becomes then a sacrificial water vessel or chalice and it is shaped like a conch whose symbolism is equivalent to that of the yoni.

2. The description of the liṅga as phallus shaped is given in the Tantras while its form is considered as egg-shaped in the Purāṇas, the Liṅga Purāṇa in particular.

as obscene. In wheat or in barley the part from which the germ comes out is considered also as the womb (yoni). Before the grain comes out the ear which appears is the liṅga. The creation as it arises by the will of Brahmā and other gods is also spoken of in terms of liṅga and yoni. This shows that by the words liṅga and yoni, Śiva and Śakti are meant. The basic field of creation is the womb, and the seed (life) is the liṅga. The womb is the field from which springs up tree, bud and all creation ; the seed is the liṅga of Puruṣa (the supreme man). The principle of sight is all-pervading, so is the principle of all that is seen (prakṛti). This is why there are cases when creation springs up from the will of the mind without the physical union of yoni and liṅga. Sons have been born from a glance, from a touch, from the eating of a fruit.[1] Nevertheless wherever and whenever there is creation the relation of Śiva and Śakti is absolutely necessary for its appearance. The great Ṛṣis, perfect in yoga are the masters of Prakṛti. This means that by will, touch or look they can produce the relation of liṅga and yoni necessary for any creation. These real liṅga and yoni are not the ordinary physical ones ; the latter are only their places of manifestation, their 'organs' (गोलक). What ordinary people believe to be the eye is not the eye, but the organ in which the invisible eye manifests itself as a sense ; the subtle sense of sight is something different from it. The physical nose or ear are similarly not the senses of smelling or hearing but their organs. The senses of smelling or hearing are very subtle, they cannot be seen by the eyes. Simply they are more specially manifested in these particular organs. But if the power of sensation decreases, although there may be no change in the organs, there will be no sight, no hearing, no smelling, etc.. Yogis can see and hear from afar

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1. The Purāṇas abound in stories of conceptions attributed to a glance, a contact or an aliment. When Diti, the mother of the demons asked her husband Kaśyapa for sons who could conquer Indra, he simply put his hand on her head and she conceived. The mother of Rāmacandra conceived him after eating 'havi', the sacrificial rice, etc. This idea is not exclusively Hindu ; the conception of Christ also took place without physical union.

According to the Purāṇas sexual union did not, in the beginning, exist as a means of begetting issue. The sages used to give existence to children by the power of their will. As creation did not spread sufficiently by this system, Brahmā was greatly worried untill Dakṣa Prajāpatī invented coition as a means of procreation. From that day creation spread vigorously and, as a reward, Dakṣa was made the first among Prajāpatīs.

without using their noses, ears or eyes. In the same way the things generally considered as liṅga and yoni are only organs ; the liṅga and yoni which are manifested in them are invisible. And therefore the organ of procreation is not the main form, but it is the seer and what is seen (the principles of spirit and matter) which, much more subtle, are manifested in them, and which are Śiva and Śakti.

<p style="text-align:center">*   *</p>

The unconscious Prakṛti,—like a piece of iron which held in the fire becomes burning and gives light,—when in contact with the reflection of Puruṣa becomes conscious and manifests the universe. In a womb in which seed, essence of man's nature, enters, a child is conceived, and similarly consciousness spreads into the unconscious Prakṛti when the duplicate of Puruṣa, which is the reflection of Puruṣa and has the same appearance, appears in it. The idea of the worship of images is to worship the invisible through the visible. The presence of Viṣṇu is felt in the Śālagrāma (the polished egg-shaped stone which is worshipped as his symbol). Nowhere do people worship mere wood, stone or metal. It is the all-pervading, and therefore always near, divine substance invoked by the power of mantras and rites which becomes an object of worship in the image. With the help of this small fragment (of divinity) the presence of the sum of all fragments is felt in the mind. In this sense the Mahādeva-liṅga (the liṅga image of Śiva) is the image of the universal Śiva-principle which pervades all individual liṅgas as well as all other things also. Just as the sun is the universal eye by whose power all individual eyes exist (without sun there could be no sight), similarly the Śiva-principle which pervades all the individual powers of generation is in its complete (universal) form the liṅga of Śiva. People do not worship individual eyes nor do they make idols of them but they do so of the sun, sum of all eyes ; similarly it is the total Śiva who is worshipped and of whom images are made. Wakefulness and dream spring up from the obscurity of dreamless sleep (suṣupti) and again fall back into it. Everything arises from darkness (तमस्) and disappears into darkness. Because he rules over obscurity (तमस्) and controls it Śiva is the universal cause. But the knowledge of the limits of the cause cannot be found in the effect (the universe).

It has already been said that the sum of all wombs is Prakṛti, that is the pedestal (pītha) or water receptacle (jalaharī) of the liṅga of Śiva. The liṅga established in the yoni is essentially joy, made of joy (आनन्दमय). Just as all forms exist only because there is an eye, and all perfumes only so long as there is someone to smell them, so all pleasure exists only because there is a liṅga and a yoni. Therefore the supreme being who limited by Prakṛti (प्रकृति विशिष्ट) appears like an eye (दृक्) (i. e. sees everything) is said to be full of joy (आनन्दमय). When they are in deep sleep (suṣupti) all his dispersed parts (all creatures) are also full of joy. On pure Brahma rest all the elements of enjoyment which are : seeing the beloved (प्रिय), obtaining him (मोद), union with him (प्रमोद) and the resulting pleasure (आनन्द).

If Prakṛti from whom innumerable universes issue is the total yoni, so also the supreme spirit who rules over these innumerable universes is the total liṅga, and the eggs of the innumerable universes which spring forth from them are the creation (सृष्टि). Consequently the indivisible, infinite Śiva-principle, made of supreme light, is the real liṅga and it is erect in the yoni (jalaharī), which is the form of the supreme Prakṛti. The 'jalaharī' and the liṅgas made of stone or metal are its representation.

For improvident, ignorant beings, the sexual embrace (maithuna) of lover and beloved appears as the highest of all pleasures. Therefore the Vedas (श्रुति) make use of this image as an illustration of the form of bliss, of the infinite indivisible supreme joy of Brahma and Prakṛti. Sometimes also the bliss of the soul (jīva) which unites with God (brahma) is compared to this pleasure.

तथथा प्रियया भाष्यया सम्परिष्वक्तो नान्तरं किञ्चन वेद न बाह्यम्, एवमेव प्राज्ञेनात्मना सम्परिष्वक्तो नान्तरं किञ्चन वेद न बाह्यम् ॥ (Bṛhad āraṇyaka) "Like a passionate man who in the arms of his beloved forgets all the World, the within and the without, the soul (jīva) when it unites with God (paramātmā) forgets all the world".

In the seventh heaven (the Shepherd's heaven गोलक) one absolute supreme being, Śrī Kṛṣṇa, unable to copulate because he was alone manifested himself in a dual shape, one of black light, the other of white light. From the white light, Rādhikā, fecundated by the black light, Kṛṣṇa, Mahat Tattva (universal intellect), Pradhān (prakṛti) and Hiraṇyagarbha (embryo of fire, the principle and sum of all subtle bodies)

were born. This can also the taken as an allegory of the union of Puruṣa and Prakṛti, from whom the universe gradually arose beginning with Mahat Tattva (universal intellect).

It can also be understood in the following way. The gross and the subtle bodies (viśva and taijas) which impersonate wakefulness and dream, and their universal prototypes, the universal gross body (virāṭ) and the universal subtle body (hiraṇyagarbha), all are compounds ;[1] but God on whom all destruction depends is simple (without parts) ; He is veiled by Māyā (the illusion through which the world appears). All living beings dwell in the sphere of ignorance[2] (avidyā) but according to the principle अत्यतिष्ठद्दशाङ्गुलम् "He overpasses it by the breadth of ten fingers".[3] That which exists beyond ignorance is God (Īśvara). The unveiled principle is Śiva. The term "God" (Īśvara) represents a state veiled by

1. According to Vedānta, from the absolute unmanifested principle (brahma) united to Prakṛti (the power of manifestation) springs forth manifestation which, as an 'undivided whole' (samaṣṭi), is called God (Īśvara) of which all the living beings (jīva) are the parts (vyaṣṭi).

Jīvas, like Īśvara, are made of a subtle and a gross body (the gross body of Īśvara being the universe).

There are therefore three natures in everything : A. one unmanifested nature, undifferentiated from the principle, which we may in certain cases call 'the spirit' (although the word is inadequate) which is realised in the condition of dreamless sleep (suṣupti).

B. a subtle body which me may call soul and which manifests itself in the condition of dream.

C. a gross material body (which includes the mind) and which is realised in the condition of wakefulness.

In Īśvara (God) :

The gross body (sum, samaṣṭi, of all gross bodies) is called "Virāṭ".

The subtle body (sum, samaṣṭi, of all subtle bodies) is called Hiraṇyagarbha (embryo of fire).

Jīva (man) :

As a separate (vyaṣṭi) gross body (that is awake, jagrat) is called Viśva (individual).

as an individual subtle body (that is dreaming—svapna) is called Taijas (fiery).

In deep sleep (suṣupti) Jīva and Īśvara become one with Brahma and experience perfect bliss (ānanda) ; there is therefore no more distinct existence.

2. The difference between Māyā and Avidyā is that through Māyā (illusion) universal manifestation takes place (brahma is manifested) while through Avidyā (ignorance). individual manifestations take place (jīvas are manifested).

3. In the microcosm (man) ten fingers represent the distance between the navel (centre of the manifested world) and the heart (centre of consciousness). By analogy in the macrocosm this expression means that absolute consciousness overpasses the limits of the manifested universe (has its centre outside of it) and exists always pure and immovable independent of its manifested form.

ignorance (avidyā) and Śiva the unveiled state. Illusion (māyā) is the water vessel (jalaharī, the yoni-shaped base) and God (Īśvara) is for us hidden by it.[1] The liṅga which comes out of the 'jalaharī' is God (Īśvara) unveiled.

That in which separate parts are not visible appears like a "formless mass" (piṇḍa). The formless liṅga (piṇḍī) represents the particular notion of the supreme being (ātmā) which is perceived in deep sleep (suṣupti). When joined with Śiva Prakṛti becomes the flow of evolution (विकार). Therefore the 'argha' (the yoni in which the liṅga stands) is elongated and not round. At the root of the liṅga is Brahmā, in the middle Viṣṇu and the upper part is Śaṅkara (Śiva) whose substance is the monosyllable AUM (praṇava). The liṅga is the supreme God, the altar of the liṅga, the 'argha' (yoni), is the supreme Goddess.

मूले ब्रह्मा तथा विष्णुस्त्रिभुवनेश्वरः ।
रुद्रोपरि महादेवः प्रणवाख्यः सदाशिवः ॥
लिङ्गवेदी महादेवी लिङ्गं साक्षान्महेश्वरः ।
तयोः सम्पूजनान्नित्यं देवी देवश्च पूजितौ ॥

"At its root is Brahmā, in the middle Viṣṇu, the Lord of the three worlds, above is Rudra, the great God (Mahādeva) whose name is Praṇava (AUM) and Sadā Śiva. The altar of the liṅga is the great Goddess (Mahādevī), the liṅga is the great God himself (Sākṣāt Maheśvara). By worshipping it always both Deva and Devī are worshipped" (Liṅga Purāṇa).

The universe was created from the liṅga of existence, which represents consciousness, and Prakṛti ; with their help it goes to destruction. This means that through them it is bound to reach absolute liberation (śuddha mokṣa).[2]

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1. The erect Śiva liṅga is divided into three parts. The lowest part which is square is hidden in the pedestal and is called the Brahmā part ; the second part which is octagonal, grasped by the yoni, is also not visible and is called the Viṣṇu part, while the round part, the Rudra part, only emerges. These three parts are either equal or divided according to certain proportions. Those most generally given are 4, 5, 6 or 7, 7, 8 for the liṅgas worshipped by Brāhmaṇas only, 5, 6, 7 or 5 5, 6 for those worshipped by Kṣatriyas only, 6, 7, 8 or 4, 4, 5 for those worshipped by Vaiśyas only and 7, 8, 9 or 3, 3, 4 for those worshipped by Śūdras only.

2. Śuddha mokṣa—which is also called Nirvāṇa or Kaivalya—is the fourth Mokṣa, the last degree of liberation, or union with the principle, when separate personality completely disappears and one being only remains.

It is also said that in the monosyllable AUM (praṇava) the letter A is the liṅga of Śiva, U the 'jalaharī' (yoni) and M the union of Śiva and Śakti. The universal gross body (virāṭ brahma-aṇḍa) is the gross form of the Śiva-principle (Śiva-brahma). The liṅga represents the very form of the universe (ब्रह्माण्ड आकार). The universe is a liṅga (a distinctive mark) because through it the 'abstract principle of all' (nirguṇa brahma) can be known.

Elsewhere it is said that the letter U means the water vessel (jalaharī-yoni), the letter A the "formless" (piṇḍī-liṅga) and the letter M the three horizontal marks which represent the three fundamental qualities (guṇas, sattva, rajas and tamas). When ether (ākāśa) is taken as a symbol of the "formless" it becomes a representation of the Śiva-principle united to Śakti. This same principle is also represented by the 'pillar of light'[1] by the 'world egg' (brahma-aṇḍa) and by many other symbols. The form which symbolises the absolute, the totality, the formless is the egg shape. To the man standing in a plain the space above the earth appears like the half of an egg. The space under the earth having the same shape, both together form the egg shape. Ether (ākāśa) arose from spirit (ātmā); the liṅga is its gross body, through it the formless can be known. Matter (prakṛti) made of five elements is its pedestal. Fther which has no appearance and no form is not directly perceptible, still there is some certainty that it exists. The sphere is taken as its imaginary symbol. Although the Śiva-principle (Śiva-brahma) has no shape still it is everything ; having no characteristics it is the sum of all characteristics. This is exactly what the liṅga of Śiva represents in the unlimited immensity of consciousness (cit ākāśa). All numbers have come out of this egg-shaped figure. When placed after any number it multiplies it by ten.

The nature of the 'liṅga of light' (ज्योतिलिंङ्ग) can be understood as follows : नासदासीन्नो सदासीत्तदानीं नासीद्रजो नो व्योमा परो यत् ॥ "At that time there was neither existence nor non-existence (sat, asat),[2] nor the unborn (अज, the soul = jīva),[2] nor was there (material)

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1. See Pl. X.
2. This may mean also : nothing subtle (asat) nor gross (sat); 'sat' and 'asat' mean existence and non-existence (and not : being and non-being). They are consequently often used in the Vedas for

space (inferior sky (व्योम) by opposition to eternal space (brahma-ākāśa) the superior sky)". Ṛg Veda 8. 7. 7.

न सन्न चासच्छिव एव केवलः "There was neither existence nor non-existence (or 'nothing subtle or gross') but only Śiva." This means that in the beginning there was only Śiva, nothing else existed. सर्वे निमेषा जज्ञिरे विद्युतः पुरुषादधि, नैनमूर्ध्वं न तिर्यञ्चं न मध्ये परिजग्रभत् ॥ From him came forth Puruṣa (the supreme man) who is like lightning (vidyut puruṣa) and from Puruṣa the divisions of time, whose unit is the 'nimeṣa' (wink of eye = about 1/6 of a second).[3] This 'lightning Puruṣa' was the 'liṅga of light', (ज्योतिर्लिङ्ग). Nowhere could anyone ever find its bounds, its beginning, its end or its middle[4]. This is the तदण्डमभवद्धैमं सहस्रांशुसमप्रभम् (मनु॰) "egg of resplendent light which appeared like a sun" of Manu.

तल्लिङ्गसंज्ञितं साक्षात्तजो माहेश्वरं परम् ।

तदेव मूलप्रकृतिर्माया च गगनात्मिका ॥ (Śiva Purāṇa)

"The direct meaning of the liṅga is the supreme being but it is also taken as a symbol of nature (mūla prakṛti)—which is illusion (māyā)—or of space (गगन)."

The body (piṇḍa) of the 'world egg' (brahma-aṇḍa) is covered—

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invisible (asat) and visible (sat), and therefore also for subtle (asat) and gross (sat), because that which we do not see does not exist for us, it is for us 'asat', while that which we can touch, surely exists ; and is therefore for us 'sat', i. e. gross.

When it is said that : "in the beginning there was only 'asat' it does not imply that nothing 'was', but that nothing perceptible existed. This is the subtle stage of potential existence before manifestation, but not simple non-existence from which existence could never come out. It is only from the context that it can be determined whether 'sat' and 'asat' should be taken as existence and non-existence, or as gross and subtle.

2. Brahmā and Jīva (God and the soul) both are said to be unborn. The Bhagavat Gītā describes the soul (jīva) as :

अजोनित्यः शाश्वतोऽयं पुराणो नहन्यते हन्यमाने शरीरे "Not born, eternal, everlasting, old (purāṇa) and not killed even if the body is killed".

3. According to Manu smṛtis (64) the divisions of time are as follows :

One day and night = 30 Muhūrtas	(One Muhūrta = 48 minutes)
One Muhūrta = 30 Kalās	(One Kalā = 1 minute 36 seconds)
One Kalā = 30 Kāṣṭhās	(One Kāṣṭhā = 3 seconds 12 thirds)
One Kāṣṭhā = 18 Nimeṣa	(One Nimeṣa = 10 thirds 40 fourths ; about 1/6th of a second)

4. See Pl. X.

surrounded—by the seven veils of Prakṛti which is the yoni. In the Śiva Purāṇa the etymology of the word liṅga is given as follows :

भगवन्तं महादेवं शिवलिङ्गं प्रपूजयेत् ।
लोकप्रसविता सूर्यस्तचिह्नं प्रसवाद्भवेत् ॥
लिङ्गं प्रसूतिकर्त्तारं लिङ्गिनं पुरुषो यजेत् ।
लिङ्गार्थागमकं चिह्नं लिङ्गमित्यभिधीयते ॥
लिङ्गमर्थं हि पुरुषं शिवं गमयतोत्यदः ।
शिवशक्त्योश्च चिह्नस्य मेलनं लिङ्गमुच्यते ॥

"One should worship the Lord Mahādeva represented by the liṅga of Śiva. The sun gives life to the world ; that which gives life is its symbol. One should worship the generator (liṅgī) in the 'organ of generation' (liṅga). The 'distinctive sign' by which something can be recognised is called 'liṅga'. This explains why the meaning of the word liṅga comes to be Puruṣa-Śiva. It is the united symbols of Śiva and Śakti which is called liṅga."

This means that the 'distinctive sign' of the union of Śiva and Śakti is the liṅga. In the liṅga should be worshipped the generator of the world. It is called liṅga because through it one penetrates—knows—the supreme Śiva-principle. The syllable AUM (praṇava) also, being the instrument of divine knowledge is called liṅga (the sign). The initiatory Mantra of five letters is its visible (gross) form.

तदेव लिङ्गं प्रथमं प्रणवं सार्वकामिकम् ।
सूक्ष्मप्रणवरूपं हि सूक्ष्मरूपन्तु निष्कलम् ॥
स्थूललिङ्गं हि सकलं तत्प चाक्षरमुच्यते ॥

"That is the first liṅga, Praṇava (AUM), the form of all. The form of Praṇava is subtle and that subtle form is incommensurable (niṣkala). The gross form of the liṅga which is commensurable (sakala) is called Pañcākṣara (the initiatory Mantra of five letters). On the great Śiva night (the fourteenth of the waning moon of Māgha) the liṅga blazed forth like a thousand suns."[1]

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1. The sun represents God (Śiva) and the moon the individual soul (jīva). On the new moon day the moon and the sun come together, which means that the moon disappears—is reabsorbed into the sun. This represents the condition of 'mokṣa' (liberation). The day before (14th day) is the last day

माघकृष्णचतुर्दश्यामादिदेवो महानिशि ।
शिवलिङ्गं तयोद्भूतः कोटिसूर्य्यसमप्रभः ॥

In the Śiva Purāṇa it is written that Śiva only, representing the First Principle (brahma) is incommensurable (niṣkala). Other gods because they all possess a form are said to be proportioned (sa-kala). The formless is worshipped in the liṅga because the liṅga has no proportions while other deities are worshipped in forms with limbs because they display certain proportions. Śiva is both commensurable and incommensurable (sakala, niṣkala) ; therefore he is worshipped both as an unproportioned liṅga and under an anthropomorphic (proportioned) form. Other deities do not directly represent the measureless Brahma, therefore they are not venerated under the formless shape of the liṅga. (see : Vidyeśvara Saṃhitā, Śiva Purāṇa, 3rd chapter). The explanation of the appearance of Śiva as a measureless column to settle the dispute between Brahmā and Viṣṇu will be given afterwards. From the sacred liṅga of Śiva all the universe has issued, through it it endures, and into it it will in the end be reabsorbed ; because He is the support of all existence and because He is the basis of all destruction, God is called 'the liṅga' (the sign). This can be expressed in another way by saying that because the cause is inferred (liṅgit) —known—from its effect, God is spoken of as the liṅga (the sign through which things can be recognised). The basis of all creation being the liṅga of Śiva it is quite logical that its worship should be found every where. To say that it was first a symbol worshipped by the non-Aryans has no meaning.

The immovable supreme principle is said to be Śiva because he is like a dry tree which never changes. This old dry tree embraced by a leafless creeper,[2] which is Śrī Pārvatī-Śakti, gives that total liberation (कैवल्य) which the tree of abundance (kalpa vṛkṣa) even is unable to

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when a still distinct (individual) moon is going towards reabsorption into the absolute. It is therefore taken as the "sign" (liṅga) of liberation.

Similarly the lunar month of Māgha (January February) is the last independent month of the year, which sometimes coalesces with the next month Phalgun to make up for the difference of the lunar and solar year. The new year begins after Phalgun.

2. Aparṇā, the leafless, is a name which was given to Pārvatī when in her austerities she ceased even to eat leaves.

give. The old linga-shaped dry tree is Śiva, the leafless (aparṇā) Pārvatī is the yoni (jalaharī). A part of the liṅga of Śiva is grasped by it ; it represents the transcendental Man (Puruṣottama = brahma) in contact with Prakṛti.

<p align="center">पीठमम्बामयं सर्वं शिवलिङ्गश्च चिन्मयम्</p>

"The substance of the base (pīṭha) is the universal mother, the substance of the liṅga of Śiva is consciousness."

The greater part which rises out of the yoni is untouched by Prakṛti.

<p align="center">पादोऽस्ययविश्वा भूतानि त्रिपादस्यामृतं दिवि</p>

"One quarter of him is this universe made of all the beings (or elements), and the three quarters above are the imperishable (amṛta)". The part of the supreme Brahma, which assumes forms in contact with Prakṛti, is the creator of all and the giver of rewards, the rest (untouched by Prakṛti) remains indifferent (उदासीन) (having neither friend nor foe). The abstract Śiva-principle is beyond the three qualities (guṇas) (of Prakṛti), but in the Trinity (trimūrti) Śiva becomes the supreme seed, the ruler of darkness (tamo guṇa).   It is much more difficult to rule over evil (darkness—tamas) than over good (sattva). Tamas (darkness) destroys everything, therefore the supremacy of Śiva who can control it is clear.

The word liṅga means also a "distinctive mark" (चिह्न). The Principle (brahma) having no distinctive marks, no qualities, no form, no change, is not perceptible (a-liṅga). The Vedas describe it as beyond the grasp of words, touch, form, etc. ; still it is the very root, the very support of all differentiation (liṅga). The liṅga is the 'unmanifested principle of manifestation' (avyakta, the principle of Prakṛti). Under the influence of Māyā (the primordial illusion) a perceivable sign (a liṅga), which is the universe and has the shape of an egg, was manifested from the supreme being, the supreme Brahma. This liṅga is everything perceptible ; the twenty four elements dependent on causality, as well as the twenty fifth which is God (Īśvara), and the twenty sixth even which is the Supreme Man (Puruṣa).[1]

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1. Sāṅkhya philosophy recognises twenty-five elements of which twenty-four are unconscious and one, God (Īśvara) is consciousness. Among the twenty-four first elements some are considered as causes, some as effects, and some as both causes and effects.

Similarly Yoga philosophy admits of twenty-six elements ; the twenty-sixth being called Puruṣa (the Supreme Man) which represents consciousness.

Out of it Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra are manifested. Its triangular yoni is made of the three qualities (guṇas) of Prakṛti, Sattva (ascending tendency, conformity to the principle), Rajas (expanding tendency) and Tamas (descending tendency, departure from the principle, obscuration). The Śiva-principle which is the unchangeable, the absolute knowledge, and which pervades Prakṛti is represented by the liṅga. If symbolises the 4th stage in all the triangular bases (pīṭha) : in the (individual) gross body—subtle body—spirit (viśva—taijasa—prajñā) ; in the (universal) gross body—subtle body—consciousness (virāṭ - hiraṇyagarbha—vaiśvānara), and in waking—dream—deep sleep (jāgrat—svapna—suṣupti) it is called Turīya (liberation) ; in Ṛk—Sāma—Yajur (-vedas) it is Praṇava (AUM), and in inarticulate sound—conceived sound—perceptible sound (paśyantī—madhyamā—vaikharī) it is the supreme word (parā vāk), etc., etc.

In the triangle of Praṇava A. U. M. the liṅga is the half letter (ardhamātrā) [the unutterable sound which appears after the M of Praṇava and which corresponds to the fourth stage (turīya = mokṣa) liberation]. The Supreme God (Parameśvara) in totality or under the partial forms of individual liṅgas enters every yoni giving birth to the five times sheathed physical bodies.[1]

अधितिष्ठति योनिं यो योनिं वाचैक ईश्वरः
देहं पञ्चविधं येन तमीशानं पुरातनम् (Liṅga Purāṇa 118)

From the relation of liṅga and womb all the world arises, therefore the mark of liṅga and womb is found in everything ; the greatness of Śiva is sung everywhere in Vedas, Upaniṣads, Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, Purāṇas or Tāntras. The liṅga of Śiva was worshipped by the gods of gods, who are Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Kṛṣṇa, Rāma, etc. For the spreading of creation the importance of male and female organs is easily understandable, but one should not envisage them merely as instruments of lust or pleasure. In reality to create the world Śaṅkara (Śiva) first killed lust and then only copulated.

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1. In Vedānta the body is considered as made of five sheaths (kośa) which surround the soul.

In some cases seer and object seen can be the same being. आसीज्ज्ञानमथो ह्यर्थं एकमेवाविकल्पितम् Before creation, perception (ज्ञान) and its object (अर्थ)—that is visible forms (दृश्य)—were one. As there was nothing to see [the power of being visible (दृश्य)=Prakṛti having not arisen] the universal seer, the being of consciousness (cit-ātmā) whose power was sleeping but whose sight was awake could even think of himself as non-existent (asat).

मेनेऽसन्तमिवात्मानं सुप्तशक्तिरसुप्तदृक् (Bhāgavata)

It is this introspective thought, this 'power of deliberation' (vimarśa)[1] which is known as Māyā (the illusion which creates the world),

सा वा एतस्य संद्रष्टुः शक्तिः सदसदात्मिका ।
माया नाम महाभाग ययेदं निर्ममे विभुः

The power (śakti), gross (sat) as well as subtle (asat) through which the seer, the 'all pervading' (Vibhu=Īśvara) created all things is named Māyā (illusion).

There is no power (śakti) without a support and there is no support (अधिष्ठान) without a power ; both exist only in relation to each other. In this way Śiva is identified with his own power (śakti) and this power (śakti) is himself (Śiva). From this point of view it can be said that the yoni is a liṅga and the liṅga a yoni ; and this fundamental dualism is found to be threaded on non-dualism. This non-dual basis of God (Īśvara) and the great Śakti, is the indivisible, indestructible existence. Although he is the seed of creation, Śiva alone cannot move (vibrate). There can be no perceptible sign of the unmanifested stage of Prakṛti which is called 'avyakta' ; therefore it is said to be signless (a-liṅga). It can be also said to transcend differentiation (mahā-liṅga). Out of the 'unmanifested Prakṛti' (avyakta) first issues the principle (tattva) of flame and light. As it arises spontaneously it is said to be a self-generated sign (svayambhu

1. The Siddhānt Śaivas consider the deliberation of mind (vimarśa) as the power of illusion (māyā) which creates the world.

linga). It is a 'distinctive sign' (a linga) because from it one can recognise the existence of the inconceivable (avyakta). Fundamentally the linga represents the principle of non-duality. In the yoni, which is triangular, the linga can be said to be the centre.

मूलाधारे त्रिकोणाख्ये इच्छाज्ञान क्रियात्मके । मध्ये खयम्भुलिङ्गस्तु कोटिसूर्य्यसमप्रभम् ॥

According to this definition the self-generated linga of Śiva, which represents the light of consciousness, standing in the triangular yoni of desire-knowledge-action, is said to shine like a thousand suns. This linga is everywhere and takes all sorts of shapes ; in the body the six nervous centres (cakra) are said to be yonis. The 'manifesting point', (bindu) when above the yoni becomes the unmanifested (avyakta) and the sign (linga) becomes the signless (alinga). No quality (guna), no action, no object (द्रव्य) can be brought into existence without a relation of linga and yoni. Even in the ritual of sacrifices the fire which represents the linga of Rudra (Śiva) is worshipped in the fire-place which is the yoni and the altar represents the shape of woman.

Once the goddess (Parvati) asked Śankara (Śiva): "Having no senses and no shape God is nothing ; what can be the object of worshipping such nothingness ?" Śivaji answered : "Śiva without the "i" which represents his power (śakti) becomes Ś-va (शव, a corpse), a dead thing. He cannot then be worshipped but he should be worshipped when he is united to Raudri Śakti (his dreadful power). She is the primordial energy (ādyā śakti) made of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, which is known as Kundalini (coiled) because she is coiled three and a half times.[1] She surrounds the Śiva principle with her three and a half coils. In union with this Śakti, Śiva acts, creates the immense universe (brahma anda), etc. All this is represented by the coiled yoni (kundalini yoni)[2] ; the linga of Śiva is surrounded by it. This is also the meaning of the dry tree embraced by the leafless creeper. The leafless Parvati is the yoni, the unmoving Brahma the dry tree or the linga".

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1. The fourth stage (turiya) which represents 'oneness with the principle' is often represented as a half stage which is symbolised by the half unmanifested letter (ardhamātra) which comes after the three letters A. U. M., or by the last half coil of Kundalini, etc.

2. Coiled but in the triangular form of the yoni.

देव्युवाच—इन्द्रिये रहितो देवः शून्यरूपः सदाशिवः ।
आकारो नास्ति देवस्य किं तस्य पूजने फलम् ॥
शिवउवाच—प्रेते पूजा महेशानि कदाचिन्नारित पार्वति ।
रुद्रस्य परमेशानि रौद्री शक्तिरितीरिता ॥
रौद्रीतु परमेशानि आद्या कुण्डलिनी भवेत् ।
वर्त्तते परमेशानि ब्रह्मविष्णुशिवात्मिका ॥
सार्द्ध त्रिवलयाकारैः शिवं वेष्ट्य सदा स्थिता ।
शक्ति विना महेशानि प्रेतत्वं तस्य निश्चितम् ॥
शक्तिसंयोगमात्रेण कर्मकर्त्ता सदाशिवः ।
अतएव महेशानि पूजयेच्छिवलिङ्गकम् ॥

"The Goddess speaks : Sadā Śiva is a God without any limbs, what is the use of worshipping this shapeless deity.

Śiva speaks : When Pārvatī is not with him, to worship Śiva is like to worship a dead body. Raudrī Śakti is sung as the supreme mistress of Rudra. Raudrī is the supreme mistress, the first born, the coiled ; she exists as the supreme mistress being the substance of Brahmā-Viṣṇu-Śiva. She covers Śiva with her three and a half veils. Without Śakti the supreme master (Maheśa) is nothing but a corpse. Only in union with her can Sadā Śiva act. Therefore the supreme God should be worshipped under the form of the Śiva liṅga". (Liṅgārcana Tantra).

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According to the Skanda Purāṇa, a life spent without worshipping the liṅga of Śiva is a source of misfortunes ; while its worship brings everything ; wordly pleasures (bhukti) as well as liberation (mukti).

विना लिङ्गार्चनं यस्य कालो गच्छति नित्यशः ।
महाहानिर्भवेत्तस्य दुर्गतस्य दुरात्मनः ॥
एकतः सर्वदानानि व्रतानि विविधानि च ।
तीर्थानि नियमा यज्ञा लिङ्गाराधनमेकतः ॥
भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रदं लिङ्गं विविधापन्निवारणम् ॥

"He whose life is spent without worshipping the liṅga incurs great loss. After death he will not reach a better world. His mind also will become wicked. If on one side one puts charities, fasts, pilgrimages,

sacrifices, morality and on the other the worship of the liṅga, the liṅga prevails because it gives enjoyment and salvation and removes adversity."

Although the liṅga of Śiva and its worship have always existed the Purāṇas tell of their first appearance. When Brahmā and Viṣṇu quarelled to know who was the greatest, a resplendent liṅga of light appeared. Brahmā riding on his swan went up to find out the top of this liṅga while Viṣṇu, taking the shape of a boar, went down. For thousands of years they searched but could never find its beginning nor its end. A Ketakī flower which had fallen from the head of the Śiva liṅga told them : "For ten aeons I have been falling and have reached here and no one can tell how far I have still to go." This was meant to show the endlessness of the Śiva liṅga. Then under the form of a voice coming from the sky, God imparted knowledge to Brahmā and Viṣṇu.

Elsewhere the earth is said to be the pedestal, and ether (ākāśa) the liṅga. The liṅga stands on its pedestal as does the atmosphere above the earth. Just as a portion only of Brahma is in contact with Prakṛti, similarly only a part of the liṅga of space is in contact with the earth. In this way somewhere the liṅga is said to be exactly like the human organ of generation, somewhere it is said to have the form of the world-egg and somewhere to be a 'formless mass' (piṇḍa). The famous image of Kedareśvara,[1] which is not man-made, in no way resembles a sex organ. It represents the symbol (liṅga) or sign (चिह्न) of the causal stage (कारण-अवस्था) or chaos (पिण्ड-अवस्था), which is in reality also a liṅga.[2] The

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1. There are two images of Kedareśvara, one in Badri Kedara (Garhwal district) in the Himalayas and the other in Benares. The original image is that of Badri Kedara which has the shape of the hinder part of a buffalo (the fore part is worshipped in Nepal under the name of Paśupati Nāth). Their origin is attributed by the Purāṇas to Śiva, who had taken the form of a buffalo.

The second Kedareśvara which is in Benares resembles petrified 'kichari' (a dish of mixed rice and pulse). It is said that when Mandātā the king of Ayodhyā, who was performing austerities in Kāśī (Benares), became too old and weak to go daily, through the power of his yoga, to worship the liṅga of Badri Kedara, Śiva appeared from the sacrificial 'kichari', which was changed into stone and became a liṅga whose merits are fifteen times as great as those of the liṅga of Badri Kedara.

2. According to the Hindus, space, time, matter, everything is a curve and all developments and transformations are ruled by the ellipse.

Principle (brahma) even is said to be a curve[1] and to be motionless. Therefore all that issues from it should proceed from the nature of the curve. The immense universe is only a liṅga because the manifested form of Brahma which is the limit of the universe has this liṅga shape.

Because he could not find a single instant when Śiva and Śakti were not in coition, Śukrācārya cursed them saying : "You shall be worshipped as a phallus implanted in a vulva." Once Śaṅkara (Śiva) went into the forest of Dāruka ; he was naked and holding his phallus in his hand. When they looked at him the wives of the prophets (ṛṣis) were fascinated ; seeing this the prophets cursed Śaṅkara : "Thy sex organ will fall." And so it happened. But as soon as the liṅga touched the earth it became like fire and started to burn the world. Finally Śiva (Śiva = Pārvati the consort of Śaṅkara) seized it with her yoni and all the prophets and gods worshipped it. Here the yoni and the liṅga represent the divine Prakṛti and the supreme Puruṣa. The story is told of the liṅga of Śiva which after falling down became incandescent and started moving round the earth, heaven and Hades (पाताल) like a flame, bringing great distress to all the worlds. Brahmā then suggested : "you should request Pārvati. She only, taking the shape of a yoni, can hold this liṅga of supernatural light." All the gods and the sages (munis) began to pray. This pleased the Lord and Girijā (Pārvati), and so Śiva became settled in Girijā.

Some theologians say that the Śiva liṅga of the story represents the 'world egg' (brahma aṇḍa). Holding it in his hand the 'All powerful' (Bhagavān)[2] had gone for sport in the forest of Dāruka where, by the curse of the prophets (ṛṣis) this 'liṅga' fell from his hand. This is why it is said that it fell down and not that it was cut. Prakṛti,

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1. The Principle (brahma) is said to be curved or bent (वक्र) because in it the two extremes (for example the indefinitely small and the indefinitely large) meet. It is therefore the contrary of manifestation (extension) which exists by the separation of extremes.

The word "curved" also means : that where sight cannot reach—that which the mind cannot understand. The Principle (brahma) is by definition beyond the reach of our understanding ; it is therefore not straight. It is to express this symbolism that the trunk of Gaṇapati is said to be curved (वक्र).

2. The Lord (Bhaga-vān) is he who possesses the six spendours (bhaga) which are : magnificence (ऐश्वर्य), perfect order (dharma), infinite glory, perfect beauty, knowledge and detachment.

made of the five 'principles of elements' (तत्त्व) is the yoni of this linga of light which represents the illuminating power of Brahma. To say that Pārvati took the shape of a yoni to hold the linga means that becoming Prakṛti—that is the five principles of the elements—she supported the world egg.

बाणरूपा श्रुता लोके पार्वती शिववल्लभा ।

"The world knows that Pārvati, the beloved of Śiva, is represented by the number five (= has the form of an arrow)."[1]

The symbolism of the yoni and of the number 5 (the arrow बाण) are identical. The word arrow (बाण) is a symbolic expression for the number five. It is used for Cupid (Kāma) because of his five arrows, for Śiva because of his five faces and for Pārvati because of the five 'principles of the elements' (tattvas). Although static electricity, (विद्युत्-पुञ्ज) pervades all the elements it is more particularly apparent in water and in chains of mountains. Because Pārvati is the 5 elements i. e., is like an arrow (बाण), that is like a chain of mountains, the linga of fire entered her. If the mass of electricity falls into her yoni, that is into earth or water, it becomes pacified, otherwise it reduces everything, trees and men, to ashes. It was said by Śiva :

पार्वतीश्च विना नान्या लिङ्गं धारयितुं क्षमा ।

तया धृतश्च महलिङ्गं द्रुतं शान्ति गमिष्यति ॥

"No one can bear the linga except Pārvati, but if held by her it very soon becomes pacified."

सतश्च योनिमसतश्च "The womb of all that is gross (sat) or subtle (asat)"; (Yajur Veda). यो योनिं योनिमधितिष्ठत्येक : "That one who exists in every category (yoni-yoni)"; (Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad).

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1. The words, 'bāṇa, śara, iṣu', etc., which all mean "arrow" are symbolic expressions for the number "five" because the arrows of Kāmadeva, the god of love, are said to be five. The names of these five arrows are the names of five flowers : Aravinda (Lotus), Aśoka, Chuta (Mango), Navamallikā (Jasmine) and Nīlotpalam (Blue Lotus). The respective effects of these five arrows are : to madden (उन्मादन), to burn (तापन), to dry (शोषण), to petrify (स्तम्भन), to allure (सम्मोहन) ; (see Amarakośa, 1, 1, 27-28).

In astronomy and in the Tantras the words which mean "arrow" are also used to represent the five principal stars ; (see : Graha lāghava, description of the five stars, verses 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 11, etc.).

यत्र स्वभावं पचति विश्वयोनिः "The womb of the world in which nature ripens"; (ib.).

The world egg, that is the visible symbol of the unmanifested, was divided into two parts which are heaven (sky) and earth, as a result of the inequality (तारतम्य) resulting from the alternation of the forces of attraction and repulsion in Bhṛgu (= Prakṛti).

वायुरापश्चन्द्रमा इत्येते भृगवः "The Bhṛgus are air (Vāyu), water (Apa), and Moon" (Gopatha Pūrva 2, 8).

शंभोः पपात भुवि लिङ्गमिदं प्रसिद्धम्
शापेन तेन च भृगोर्विपिने गतस्य ।

"It is by the malediction of Bhṛgu that the liṅga of Śambhu, who had gone into the forest, fell on the earth."

Śrī Śankara (Śiva) himself installed the liṅga of the Lord of the universe and worshipped it.

ब्रह्मणा विष्णुना वापि रुद्रेणान्येन केन वा ।
लिङ्गप्रतिष्ठामुत्सृज्य क्रियते स्वपदस्थितिः ॥
किमन्यदिह वक्तव्यं प्रतिष्ठां प्रति कारणम् ।
प्रतिष्ठितं शिवेनापि लिङ्गं वैश्वेश्वरं यतः ॥

"It is only after they have installed the liṅga [in their mind (i. e., worshipped it)] that Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Rudra or any one else can officiate. When I have said that Śiva himself had installed the liṅga called the Lord of the universe (in his mind) what more could I say as a reason for the installation of the Śiva liṅga."

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In the "Five Nights or Nārada" (नारद पञ्चरात्र) which is the fundamental book of Vaiṣṇavism, it is said that in the beginning everything was female except Śankara. Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Dakṣa and many others did austerities to evoke the apparition of the goddess of death (Kālikā) who appeared and permitted them to ask a boon. The gods then said : "You should become the daughter of Dakṣa and seduce Śiva." The world's goddess objected : "Śambhu (Śiva) is a mere child", but Brahmā said, "there can be no second male comparable to Śambhu." Hearing this the goddess took birth in the house of Dakṣa as Satī (the virtuous). The gods arranged the

marriage. When Sati and Śiva consummated the marriage the seed of both fell on the earth ; from it were born all the liṅgas of Śiva which, with their yonis, exist in the underworld, earth or heaven. Śiva must be worshipped by all whether they are adorers of Śakti or Viṣṇu, of the Sun, Gaṇapati or of any other deity.

शाक्तो वा वैष्णवो वापि सौरो वा गाणपोऽथवा ।
शिवार्चनविहीनस्य कुतः सिद्धिर्भवेत् प्रिये ॥

"Worshippers of Śakti, of Viṣṇu, of the Sun or Gaṇapati, those who do not worship Śiva cannot attain perfection." (Tantra of Creation, उत्पत्तितन्त्र).

When without worshipping Śiva one worships any other deity that deity leaves one with a curse.

अनाराध्य च मां देवि योऽर्च्चयेद्देवतान्तरम् ।
न गृह्णाति महादेवि शापं दत्वा व्रजेत् पुरम् ॥

"When the worshippers of the other gods, O Devi, do not worship me those gods reject their worship and go away cursing them.[1]

Although according to traditional philosophy (darśanas) and to theologians the Śiva liṅga is eternal, and its worship also has always existed, still to emphasize the importance of this worship, the first appearance of the liṅga of Śiva and the beginning of its worship have been often described as an illustration (arthavāda).[2] The incarnations of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, which are also considered as eternal were consequently worshipped before the incarnations actually took place. This is possible because no avatāra (incarnation) is new. Again and

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1. This means that one should not worship a particular individualised aspect of divinity without remaining conscious of the oneness and absoluteness of God.—This is a condemnation of idolatry as some Christians and Mussalmans usually imagine it to be.

2. Arthavāda is that part of the Vedas which gives illustrations or examples to emphasize the necessity of certain methods or practices. These examples are not to be taken as actual facts. For example the illustration given above अनाराध्य च मां देवि etc., is an 'arthavāda'; deities do not actually walk further away from the worshipper nor do they actually utter a curse. These images only emphasize the meaning which is that such worship is fruitless and may have harmful consequences.

again, creation after creation, aeon (kalpa) after aeon, they appear. Similarly though the Śiva liṅga is eternal, the order of its manifestation may vary from aeon to aeon. The Śiva principle which represents the totality (samaṣṭi) of the procreative power is the total liṅga (samaṣṭi liṅga). The manifestation of all the individual wombs or liṅgas proceeds from it. To say that all the liṅgas and their yonis were manifested from the seed which fell when Śiva and Satī copulated, is an illustration of this mystery. It is the union of Puruṣa and Prakṛti which is represented by the copulation (maithuna) of Śiva and Satī. From their mingled seed innumerable human beings have come forth. Individual liṅgas issue from the total liṅga. Therefore the yonis of all individual liṅgas are also the yonis of the total liṅga. This is the secret meaning of the 'mystery' of Śiva playing in the forest of Dāruka.

It is only logical that as a whole (samaṣṭi) or individually (vyaṣṭi) all beings (yonis) made of Prakṛti should be attracted to this supreme Lord Śiva by an atom of the beauty of whose body the all pervading, bodiless god of love (Kāma deva)[1] fell madly in love. This is the real meaning of the story of the wives of the prophets (ṛṣis) fascinated by Śiva. When the god after being cursed by the sages (munis) or Śukrācārya, is worshipped under the shape of a liṅga erect in a yoni, or when the liṅga of Śiva falls and begins to burn the world till it is held by the yoni of Satī (Pārvatī) and worshipped by Brahmā, Viṣṇu and other gods and prophets (ṛṣis), sages (munis), angels (gandharvas) and genii (asuras), etc., all this represents the play of an independent, unbound God. And similarly when the Supreme Being, Viṣṇu is cursed and becomes a man or when he takes the form of a fish, a boar, etc., this is only a divine game. A curse can only be given if He, the cause of all, wishes it. The play of the Supreme Being (Paramātmā with Prakṛti or the copulation of this Supreme Being with the superior Prakṛtis (para prakṛti) manifested as individual beings (jīvas) or more exactly, the copulation of God with Śakti, part of

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1. His body was burnt by the third eye of Śiva when he disturbed him in his austerities.

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himself, which presides over his manifestation, these all have a profound meaning. All the appearances of the God Śiva are mysterious, and like the stealing of the clothes (by Krṣṇa) or the bacchanalia (rasa līlā), they can easily appear obscene to the ignorant.

निर्गुण रूप सुलभ अति, सगुण न जाने कोई ।
सुगम अगम नाना चरित, सुनि मुनिमन भ्रम होई ॥

"His unmanifested form is most easily understandable while no one can grasp his manifested ones. Many of these actions appear simple although they are really so difficult that the sages even lose their minds in them." (Tulsī Dās).

राम देखि सुनि चरित तुम्हारे ।
जड़ मोहहि बुध होहि सुखारे ॥

"O Rāma, when they see and hear of thy behaviour, the wise rejoice but the fools are embarassed." (Tulsī Dās).

The Supreme Being, the infinite consciousness is Śiva. It is he who when inclined towards creation is the liṅga. His support is the yoni-Prakṛti. Śiva is the father represented by the liṅga. Prakṛti is the mother represented by the yoni. मम योनिर्महद्ब्रह्म "The principle (called) Mahat (prakṛti) is my yoni." (Gītā and Upaniṣads).

द्विधा कृत्वात्मनो देहमर्द्धेन पुरुषोऽभवत ।
अर्द्धेन नारो तस्यां स विराजमसृजत्प्रभुः ॥

"He divided his body into two elements, one became the Male (puruṣa), the other became the Female (nārī). In that woman the Lord creates Virāṭ [the body of the universe].

This conception of Śiva as yoni and liṅga is equivalent to that of the primordial hermaphrodite (Arddhanārīśvara). The Lord Śiva is manifested under the form of the supreme liṅga which gives the seed of creation (सृष्टि) to the woman's womb which is Prakṛti. His relation to her is that of the support to the thing supported ; and he is covered by her. The appellations of Father and Mother of the universe also point to such a relation. The sexual union whose object

is not lust is a means of repaying the debt one has towards the ancestors.[1] According to the Liṅga Purāṇa the 'bindu' (the point which is at the limit between unmanifested and manifested sound) represents the Goddess, and 'nāda' (the principle of sound) is Śiva. The Goddess under this shape of 'bindu' is the mother and Śiva as the principle of sound, is the Father. This is why to attain supreme felicity the worship of the liṅga is essential. भं वृद्धिं गच्छतीत्यर्थान्भगः प्रकृतिरुच्यते "Because she develops Prakṛti is called 'bhaga' (a womb)."

मुख्यो भगस्तु प्रकृतिर्भगवान् शिव उच्यते ।
भगवान् भोगदाता हि नान्यो भोगप्रदायकः ॥

"The womb (bhaga) is the great Prakṛti, and the possessor of the womb (bhaga-vān = God) is Śiva. It is Bhagavān (God) who gives enjoyment, there is no other giver."

The womb worshipped with the liṅga and the liṅga worshipped with the womb are the givers of every sort of happiness in this world and in other worlds. Issued from the eternal Śiva through the power of consciousness, the liṅga of Śiva represents the Supreme Man (puruṣa) himself, transcendent and omniscient. The god Śaṅkara (Śiva) says that the man who "worships the liṅga knowing it to represent the first cause and absolute consciousness and knowing the substance of the world to be the liṅga, is dearer to him than any other man."

लोकं लिङ्गात्मकं ज्ञात्वा लिङ्गे योऽर्चयते हि माम् ।
न मे तस्मात्प्रियतरः प्रियो वा विद्यते क्वचित् ॥

The liṅga is a symbol; it has been conceived as a means of worshipping the universal form. In the beginning and in the end the universe has the form of an egg. The Śiva liṅga represents this world

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1. Man has three debts to repay : (1) one to the Gods, repaid by sacrifices, (2) one to his ancestors, repaid by funeral rites and the begetting of children, (3) one to men or prophets (ṛṣis), repaid by learning.

egg. Through the co-operation of Śiva and Śakti, animals, worms, birds, and insects are born. Śiva himself has no distinctive mark (no liṅga); distinction (liṅga) issues from him. Śiva is the 'possessor of the liṅga' (liṅgī); it is really Śivā (Pārvatī) who is the liṅga. It is called the emblem (liṅga) because it is the partaker of knowledge and the dwelling place of all beings as well as the complete master of their destruction.

लीयमानमिदं सर्वं ब्रह्मण्येष हि लीयते ।

"All this must come to an end and that end is the Principle (brahma)."

Translated and annotated by Śiva Śaraṇ
with permission from Siddhānt;
Vedic words and Mantras interpreted by Vijayānand Tripāṭhi.

Pl. IX. Arddhanārīśvara ; Findplace unknown ; Madhyadeśa, 10th century.
Pl. X. "Fathoming of the liṅgam" ; from Harasnath, Jaipur, 10th century ; Ajmer, Museum.

NĀGARA, DRĀVIDA AND VESARA

by N. V. MALLAYYA

The ancient Indian writers on temple architecture significantly interpreted the Hindu temple in terms of the human organism and taking the shape of the Śikhara (head of the temple) as the fundamental basis of classification they laid down three main styles of temple architecture known as 'Nāgara', 'Drāviḍa' and 'Vesara'. The six main vertical divisions of a Hindu temple starting with the basement and ending with the finial are (1) Adhiṣṭhāna (basement), (2) Stambha (pillar, otherwise known by synonyms such as 'caraṇa' or 'jaṅghā'), (3) Prastara (entablature), (4) Gala (neck), (5) Śikhara (head, lit. "that which has the 'śikhā' or top-knot", otherwise known by synonyms such as 'śīrṣa' or 'śiras'), and (6) Stūpikā (finial, otherwise known by the synonym 'śikhā', lit. top-knot). Here the part Śikhara appears as the fifth main part of a temple and figures above the Gala (neck) and below the Śikhā (finial). It is the roof of the temple and in the interpretation of the temple in terms of the human organism it corresponds to the face or head of the human organism. In the human world one human being is differentiated from the other mainly by the features of his face and similarly in Hindu temple architecture one type of structure is distinguished and differentiated from other types mainly by the shape of the Śikhara. If the shape of the Śikhara of a Hindu temple is square, the temple is said to belong to the Nāgara class ; if circular, to the Vesara class ; if facetted, to the Drāviḍa class. The interpretation of the temple in terms of the human organism serves to emphasize the organic character of architecture and to convey the

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Hindu idea of the temple as the abode of the supreme spirit.[1] It further helps to work out the technical classification of the three main styles of Indian temple architecture. The classification of the three main styles of temple architecture on the basis of the three different shapes of the Śikhara (lit. head)—namely square (Nāgara), circular (Vesara), and facetted (Drāviḍa)—is suggested most satisfactorily by the application of the analogy of the human face to the roof of a temple both in respect of the designation (viz. Śikhara) and function (viz. differentiation). Our closer and most constant observation of the human faces and the consequent easier detection of their differentiating features may have also aided the drawing of the analogy of the human face with the Śikhara that admits the differentiation and classification of styles in Hindu temple architecture.

K. P. Jayaswal in the course of an article on 'Nāgara and Vesara' remarks that modern writers on Hindu art have a hazy idea about the technical expressions 'Nāgara' and 'Vesara', and attempts to define these terms in the light of the scientific definition as given in the Śilpa literature. He thus observes :[2] "The scientific definition in the Śilpa books (i. e. Śilparatna ch. XVI) lays down that Nāgara means a building on a square plan, which may be a Śikhara or non-Śikhara edifice. Vesara means an "ornamental" (Veśya) voluptuous style, having a round plan. It is implied that it may be a Śikhara or non-Śikhara edifice." In the light of the studies we have carried out in Sanskrit texts on temple architecture the exposition of the styles given by K. P. Jayaswal does not appear to correspond to the actual textual definition of the terms. The texts do not refer to a building without a Śikhara ; and the non-Śikhara edifice that Jayaswal refers to is against the view of the ancient writers on temple architecture who interpret temple architecture in terms of the human organism. The most simple

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1. Vide my "Studies in Sanskrit Texts on Temple Architecture with special reference to the 'Tantrasamuccaya', 'Annamalai University Journal', Vol. No. 1, pp. 27—33 : 'Basis and expression of Indian Temple Architecture.'

2. "Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art" Vol. I, No. I. June 1933, p. 57.

structure may be thought of without the topmost and punctuating element, the finial (Stūpikā or Śikhā), but a building without the roof section known as Śikhara (lit. head of the structure) is inconceivable. This refers to the flat roofs which are conspicuous by the absence of finials. The indispensable element Śikhara cannot be omitted in any structural arrangement ; it is as essential as the head in the case of living beings. Whether flat or pyramidal, whether marked by the presence of finials or not, the roof of a temple in tune with the spirit of ancient texts admits of its being called Śikhara or Śīrṣa. The fundamental basis of classification, according to all architectural authorities of ancient India, is the shape of the Śikhara, and by shape of the Śikhara we have to understand the shape of its horizontal section. The Guptan shrines, though flat-roofed, on account of the square shape of the horizontal section of roofing, admit of their being designated by the term 'Nāgara' defined in the architectural treatises. The characterisation of these flat-roofed square structures as 'non-Śikhara' edifices by modern writers needs revision in the light of the definition of styles met with in the original texts on temple architecture. We may apply the definition of Nāgara stated in architectural literature to the extant temples of North India which are variously called by modern writers "Indo-Aryan shrines", "Āryavarta shrines", "Nāgara shrines", etc. The bulging curvilinear ornamentation of their Śikharas does not banish these structures from the province of the textual definition of 'Nāgara' since the inner shape, that is to say the original shape at the horizontal section of their Śikharas, is square. In the course of the history of architecture, while this inner and original square shape is seen maintained in the later day construction of Śikharas built in stone or brick, the curvilinear lines are found developed on the outer face of the Śikharas. In the North Indian shrines characterised by the bulging curvilinear type of Śikhara, the curvilinear and bulging aspect has no functional side and it appears chiefly ornamental in design. Shorn of this ornamental aspect, the horizontal section of the Śikhara is fundamentally square in shape and it is not difficult therefore to bring the North Indian shrines with their curvilinear types of Śikharas under the Nāgara class defined in the Śilpaśāstras. In the course of a noteworthy paper on 'Śikhara' Prof. Pisharoti has endeavoured

to show that Śikhara is not a later day addition in Nāgara shrines, as some writers seem to hold, but that it is as old as the Indian shrines themselves. He holds that "its bulging or curvilinear nature is not the essential character of Nāgara Śikharas, variously called the Indo-Aryan or Āryavarta shrines ; it is a subsidiary feature built into the square Śikhara as a matter of ornamentation in the course of the development of Indian architecture, and this explains its absence in earlier structures of the Nāgara type in North India as also the later day shrines in other parts of India".[1] The following observations might be further noted in this connection : "All authorities are agreed that· Nāgara shrines are characterised by a square Śikhara ; in other words it will be a pyramid on a square base, ending in a point. That this is the approved shape for Nāgara shrines is not merely a matter of theory, but is also something actually borne out in practice as is seen in the extant architectural remains of the earliest as well as the latest structures. When it is said that the Nāgara Śikhara is a square, the idea is that any horizontal section of it must be a square. This primary aspect being satisfied, it may have manifold shapes, and even the bulging curvilinear Śikhara can have a square base. Hence it has to be borne in mind that because a Śikhara has a bulging curvilinear outline, this particular feature need not be against the view of the traditional theorists. Now with this basic conception that every Nāgara shrine must have a square section, the variations in actual form may be manifold, based on a straight line or a convex line or a concave line ; and every genuine Nāgara shrine, brought under the category of Indo-Aryan or Āryavarta, or Śikhara shrine— if it may be rightly termed Nāgara shrine—must have this square section, whatever else it may or may not have."[2]

On the subject of the origin and application of the terms 'Nāgara' and Vesara modern opinions are not unanimous. Dr. P. K. Ācārya seeks to establish the view that the names Nāgara and Vesara are

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1. "Annamalai University Journal", Vol. V, No. 2, p. 214.
2. Ibid., pp. 211, 212.

geographical names on the analogy of the names of the Western styles of architecture such as Doric, Ionic, Corinthian and Tuscan. In the course of a paper[1] on "The Styles of Indian Architecture" Ācārya observes : "Like the Greco-Roman orders on which the European styles of architecture are mainly based, Nāgara, Vesara and Drāviḍa also are but geographical names." In his "Dictionary of Hindu Architecture" in the concluding section on Nāgara it is found stated : "The object of this article is not, however, to identify the country of Nāgara, nor to find out the inventor or inventors of the styles, although on them depend many interesting points of the ancient Indian architecture. Here it is clear that the expressions Nāgara, Vesara and Drāviḍa are geographical, and that they imply three styles of architecture in its broadest sense."[2] While Ācārya would have us believe that the terms Nāgara and Vesara are undoubtedly geographical names, Jayaswal draws our attention to the uncertainties that mark the geographicial origin of these names. He expresses the view that Nāgara is derived from Nāga, the dynastic name of the Nava Nāga kings and that Vesara had its origin in the decoration of the Hindu coquette. He observes[3] that "Vesara means an ornamental (veśya) voluptuous style, having a round plan" and seeks to establish this view upon the authority of the Śilparatna. In view of these differences of opinion an investigation into the origin and application of the terms 'Nāgara' and 'Vesara' from the point of view of texts will be both interesting and instructive.

The tenor of treatment that we meet with in Sanskrit texts on the styles of temple architecture does not appear to favour geographical origins in the names of the styles, namely, Nāgara and Vesara. To explain[4] the classification of the styles of Hindu temple architecture as geographical by a convenient identification of Nāgara, Drāviḍa and

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1. "Proceedings and Transactions of the Third Oriental Conference", Madras, 1924, pp. 243-249.
2. "A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture", p. 315.
3. "Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art", Vol. I, No. 1, p. 58.
4. "Proceedings and Transaction of the Third Oriental Conference", 1924, p. 245.

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Vesara with the three geographical divisions of the country, Northern, Southern and Eastern is temerarious as the references pointing to geographical divisions are fitted to the styles already known, evolved and established on the fundamental basis of shapes. All the texts are certainly in agreement in regard to the definition of the styles on the basis of shape but they are not similarly in agreement in respect of the statement of the geographical distribution of styles and some texts do not record the geographical explanation of the styles. The "Tantrasamuccaya" for instance is silent on the topic of the geographical distribution of styles and it is well to remember here that if geographical definition had been an important or indispensable mode of elucidation of styles it would not have escaped the attention of Nārāyaṇa, the author of the Tantrasamuccaya, who is noted for his scientifically precise, concise and systematic treatment of the subject. We shall take note of the different modes of classification connected with the definition of the three styles in the Kāmikāgama, Īsānaśiva-gurudevapaddhati, Kāśyapaśilpa and the Śilparatna. According to the Kāmikāgama[1] the region from the Himālayas to the end of the Vindhyas is characterised by the 'sattva guṇa', and in this 'sāttvika' region the style that is known to exist in preponderance is the Nāgara. The region from the Vindhyas to the end of the Krishnā is characterised by 'rajas' and in this region the style that is known to exist is the Drāviḍa. The region from the Krishnā to Cape Comorin is characterised by the 'guṇa tamas' and in this region the style that is known to exist is the Vesara. The text further associates the members of the trinity Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva with the styles Nāgara, Drāviḍa and Vesara respectively as presiding deities. The three styles are then defined on the basis of shape, which is the fundamental mode of classification. In the course of the treatment of the styles it is interesting to observe a note which is added to say that all the styles of buildings, namely Nāgara and others are well-known for their

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1. Paṭala 49.

distribution in all parts of the country. Gurudeva[1] in the Īśānaśiva-gurudevapaddhati first defines the styles on the basis of shapes and then connects the three 'guṇas', the members of the Trinity, etc., with the three styles. He then refers to the geographical divisions with reference to the styles of architecture, Nāgara and others. The region where the Nāgara style is said to preponderate is des-cribed as lying between the Himālayas and the Vindhyas. The region where the Drāviḍa style is said to be distributed is the part known as Drāviḍa. The region where the Vesara style is described to exist is the land lying between the Agastyas and the Vindhyas. This description is accompanied by a note which says that some, however, are of the view that all these, namely Nāgara, Drāviḍa and Vesara may be met with in all regions. In the Kāśyapaśilpa[1] the region mentioned with reference to the Nāgara style is the land from the Himālayas to the Vindhyas ; with reference to the Vesara style, the land from the Krishnā to the Cape Comorin ; with reference to the Drāviḍa style, the land from the Vindhyas to the Krishnā. Styles are not exclusive for any region as all styles are found in all places. The Śilparatna of Śrīkumāra is a compilation of architectural and iconographic subjects dealt with in earlier treatises and it therefore contains extracts from the Kāśyapaśilpa, Gurudevapaddhati and Tantrasamuccaya. One extract, which appears to have been taken from the Kāśyapaśilpa, connects the region lying from the Krishnā to the Cape, with the Vesara style, and the region from the Vindhyas to the Krishnā with the Drāviḍa style ; the other extract, which appears to have been taken from the Gurudevapaddhati, gives a different explanation which connects the region from the Agastyas to the Vindhyas with the Vesara style, and the region of the Drāviḍa country with the Drāviḍa style. The observation that according to some all styles may be found in all places is also noted in the text of the Śilparatna.[3] The geographical explanation which

1. Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati (T. S. S. ed.), Part III, uttarārdha, Paṭala XXX.
2. Kāśyapaśilpa (Ānandāśrama ed.), Paṭala XXV.
3. Śilparatna (T. S. S. ed.), Part I, Ch. XVI, St. 44.

is fitted to the description of the Nāgara style, in all texts noted above, is the same but difference of opinion exists in regard to the geographical explanations connected with the Vesara and Drāviḍa styles. This difference of opinion may be explained by having recourse to the fact that the definition of the styles is not originally geographical and that the geographical explanations are fittings subsequent to the origin and systematisation of styles on the basis of shapes. The clue to this explanation is given by the reference to the three 'guṇas' and the members of the Trinity associated with the three styles. The theory of the three 'guṇas' applied to the three gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva dwells upon the idea of the distribution of the three 'guṇas, sattva, rajas', and 'tamas', and their disposition with the preponderance of one or the other of them. The geographical classification which is attempted in some of the texts as the Kāmikāgama, Kāśyapaśilpa and Gurudevapaddhati and which is closely linked to the 'guṇa' theory of the theistic Sāṃkhya philosophy likewise indicates the distribution of the styles in all the divisions of the country and the disposition of the styles with preponderance of the one or the other of them. In this strain we might explain the text which says that the styles may be found in all places and that no style is exclusively characteristic of any one region. In Kerala we frequently meet with structures which are square and circular in the shape of their roof and which therefore come under the Nāgara and Vesara definitions. In South India, Nāgara style of structures may be easily met with. The shrine at Chidambaram is a typical instance of the Nāgara style and at Māmallapuram in the group of the famous temples we see Drāviḍa and Nāgara types of shrines situated side by side. The difference of opinion exhibited in the geographical explanations may be taken as also owing to the difference that existed in the observations of the different writers in respect of the styles prevalent in their time in the various parts of the country. The classification of styles on a regional basis is not absolute ; nor is the opinion, ancient or modern, in respect of such a classification unanimous. Geographical divisions do not count much in a country like India where cultural unity has been the determining force binding integrally the different parts of the country into one organic whole. The observation of the ancient writers thal all styles of architecture are to be found in all parts

ot the country strikes the note of cultural unity which persists in the midst of the diversity that marks the geographical divisions of the country. With reference to the theory of Trimūrti in relation to the three 'guṇas', 'sattva', 'rajas' and 'tamas', Hopkins remarks[1] : "To explain the Trimūrti by a casual identification of the three gods with the three 'guṇas' of Sāṅkhya philosophy, is temerarious. The 'guṇas' are fitted to the group already known". The association of the three 'guṇas' with the three styles, of the three deities again with the three styles, similarly appears to us as only an attempt at fitting the 'guṇas', etc., to the styles subsequent to the origin and systematisation of the three styles out of a desire to introduce in the treatment of architectural styles the idea of unity that characterises both the aspects of culture, tangible and conceptual.

The author of the Tantrasamuccaya, while he does not give geographical and other explanations with reference to styles, accepts the fundamental basis of classification which is the shape of the Śikhara and describes the measures of the different types of structures[2], 'vṛtta' (circular), 'caturaśradīrgha' (rectangular), 'hastipṛṣṭha' (apsidal), 'vṛttāyata' (ellipsoidal), 'ṣaṭkoṇa' (hexagonal) and 'aṣṭāśra' (octagonal). This description is immediately followed by the definition of the three main styles of architecture, Nāgara, Drāviḍa and Vesara. The stanza[3] which defines these three styles is as stated below :

"मूलाद्याशिखरं युगाश्ररचितं गेहं स्मृतं नागरं
श्रीवाद्याशिखरंकियं षड्रगाश्रोन्नेदितं द्राविडम् ।
मूलाद्धा गलतोऽथवा परिलसद्वृत्तात्मकं वेसरं
तेष्वेकं पृथगात्तलक्ष्मसु विदध्यादात्मनः सम्मतम्" ॥

"That temple is known as Nāgara which is made square from the 'mūla' (basement) to the 'śikhara' (head) (both inclusive); that is Drāviḍa which is made distinctly hexagonal or octagonal from above the 'grīvā' (neck) to the end of the 'śikhara' (head); that is Vesara

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1. Hopkins, "Origin and Evolution of Religion", p. 305, f. note.
2. "Tantrasamuccaya" (T. S. S. ed.), Part 1, Paṭala II. Sts. 65—70.
3. Ibid., St. 71.

·which exhibits a circular shape either from the basement or the 'gala' (neck) : one may construct according to his liking any one from among these whose features have been particularly prescribed." This definition of the styles from the point of view of shapes is clear and is found adopted by Śrī Kumāra[1] in his Śilparatna with a slight change in the reading of two expressions. Thus '**मूलाद्याशिखरं**' is read in the Śilparatna as '**मूलादाशिखरम्**' and '**पृथगात्तलक्ष्मत्तु विदध्यात्**' as '**पृथगात्तलक्ष्म सुविदध्यात् ॥**'. The fact of the adoption of this definition in the Śilparatna indicates that the definition is classic and authoritative in character. According to this definition, that structure is˘ known as Nāgara which is square from the basement to the Śikhara (both parts inclusive). That structure is Drāviḍa which is hexagonal or octagonal, that is to say 'facetted', from above the neck to the end of the Śikhara ; here, the shape of the body as implied is square. That structure is Vesara which is circular from the basement or from the neck upwards. It might be noted in this connection that Nāgara is a structure having pure from ; that is to say,

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1. 'Śilparatna' (T. S. S. ed.) Part I, Paṭala XVI.
  Based on a wrong rendering of the term 'yugāśra' as 'two-cornered' Dr. F. H. Gravely and Mr. T. N. Ramachandran remark that Śrīkumāra is confused in his account of Nāgara. The text attributed to Śrīkumāra by these writers is really and originally the text of the 'Tantrasamuccaya', only adopted by Śrīkumāra. Both the authors of the Bulletin "The Three Main Styles of Indian Temple Architecture according to the Śilpaśāstras" after quoting and translating two stanzas which define Nāgara, remark : "Both the definitions of Nāgara agree with those of the Mānasāra and Suprabhedāgama in saying that the characteristic shape extends from the bottom to the top ; but both give this shape as two-cornered". So far as we know, 'two-cornered' can only relate to an apsidal building ; but of this there is here no further indication, and Nāgara is the only style in which such buildings are not mentioned in the Mānasāra definitions. Obviously the Śilparatna account is co·fused and we suspect...etc." [Bulletin of the Govt. Museum, Madras, New Series, Gen. Sect. III, Pt. I, p. 5. (1934)]. Here it deserves to be remembered that the word 'yuga' used in the Sanskrit compound expression 'yugāśra' signifies the number 'four' and not 'two'. It is a 'sāṅkhya vācaka' symbolic of the number four and this sense of four is derived from the mythological conception of four Yugas— Kṛta, Dhṛta, Dvāpara and Kali. The commentator Śaṅkara, who is the son of the author of the Tantrasamuccaya, in his Vimarśinī paraphrases '**युगाश्रराचितम्**' in the words '**चतुरश्रत्पेष कृतम्**' [Vide the "Tantrasamuccaya" with "Vimarśinī" (T. S. S. ed.), Part I, p. 92]. There is thus no roˣm for any doubt as to the interpretation of the term 'yuga' in the sense of 'four', and the slur cast on Śrīkumāra by Gravely and Ramachandran is unjust and founded on the wrong interpretation of 'yugāśra' as "two-cornered." The description of Nāgara as square style of structure given in our text and accepted by Śrīkumāra, agrees with the definition of Nāgara found in the works of other authors.

it is a structure which is completely square in the shape of its body and head. The other two styles, namely Drāviḍa and Vesara, as an alternative case, admit of a mixture in the shape of the structure in respect of the body and the head. When the composite shape is desired the shape of the body portion implied is square and that of the head portion is octagonal or circular according as the structure intended is of the Drāviḍa or Vesara style. In the conception of Hindu builders octagonal and circular shapes are derivations from the fundamental square and this conception seems to have led the Hindu architects to adopt the fundamental square shape for the body portion in instances of the Drāviḍa and Vesara styles marked by composite shapes. In all instances of styles marked by pure or mixed shapes, it might be conveniently held that the shape of the Śikhara is always the guiding and determining factor. This view is in line with the interpretation of Hindu temple architecture in terms of the human organism ; for, in the human world it is not the feature of the body portion but the peculiarity inherent in the face or head portion that is the guiding factor in the differentiation of individuals.

Of the three names Nāgara, Drāviḍa and Vesara the term Drāviḍa alone sounds geographical or racial and this name appears to have been fitted to the Aṣṭāśra (octagonal) Prāsāda (temple) on account of the preponderance of this style in the Drāviḍa part of the country at the time of the codification of styles. While the term Drāviḍa can thus be held to be geographical or racial it cannot be said that the other two names Nāgara and Vesara too are undoubtedly and necessarily geographical or racial originally ; for, any geographical or racial association in these terms is not comprehensible apart from some of the later- explanations found fitted to the treatment of styles already evolved and systematised and these explanations seem secondary in importance from the fact of the absence of their mention in some of the important treatises. Jayaswal is of the view that Nāgara is derived from Nāga, the dynastic name of the Navanāga kings. This view does not appear to us acceptable in the light of the history of shapes. In the history of architectural designs the square figures as the regular outcome of the straight features which the material wood yields and wood is known to us as the chief material employed in constructions in India. The origin and application of the square

style of construction cannot be appropriately delimited by any adjunct such as a reference to any dynasty or part of the country or period of history. The material remains of Mohenjo Daro which give evidence of the use of timber bear also clear proof of the prevalence of the rectangular design since this remote period.

Circular designs were also known to the builders of Mohenjo Daro who made use of bricks and, made wells of circular shape. In the regular designs of buildings at Mohenjo Daro of the third millennium B. C., however, the rectangular shape appears as the prevailing shape. Not only in India, but beyond the confines of India as in Egypt, Assyria and Babylon the earliest structures seem to have been square or rectangular in shape. George Birkhoff in his 'Aesthetic Measure' remarks that "the utilisation of rectangular networks must go back at least as far as primitive architectural design." If we accept the view that wood preceded stone as structural material, which seems probable from the fact of the translation in stone of original wooden forms in some of the remains of the ancient Buddhistic period, we must concede that the square or rectangle served as the earlier and fundamental shape in ancient architectural designs. The origin of the square style of construction we might therefore trace to the inherent tendency of the material wood and not to any dynasty or part of the country or period of history and this shape may be said to be as old as the employment of the material wood. The 'parṇakaśālās' of the sages of old are transformations into forms of humble dwellings, of the materials which the trees give. In such simple structures trunks served as posts and beams, and leaves as cover over the wooden rafters. Temples too, were originally constructed of wood. Style in architecture is formed and moves within certain psychological currents and as John Sumerson[1] observes : "Style in architecture is ultimately a matter of the unconscious associations developing round structural forms." In Indian architecture the rectangular or square form of construction originally developed round wooden constructions, and this association

1. "Arts of Today", p. 251.

came to be systematised as square style of construction and copied later in more durable material such as stone and brick. The term Nāgara means "that which is either originated in Nagara or that which is related to or connected with Nagara." The expression Nagara comes from the word Naga which has, according to Amara[1] and later lexicographers two meanings, namely, 'mountain' and 'tree'—these meanings being based on the derivation 'न गच्छतीति नगः'[2] (that which does not move). The expression Nagara is formed by the addition of the affix 'ra' to the word Naga according to Kātyāyana's Vārtika 'नगपांसुपाण्डुभ्यश्च' (3199) which is given under the Sūtra 'ऊषसुषिमुक्कमधो रः'.[3] The affix 'ra' has the force of 'matup' which signifies 'nityayoga' (the permanent quality of a thing) or 'saṃsarga' (association). The term Nagara in ordinary literature is used in the sense of 'town' or 'city' which is the seat of the dwellings of many people (बहुलोकवासस्थानम्). The derivation of the term Nagara is 'नगाः सन्ति अस्मिन्' (that which contains Nagas). This derivation is explained in the Śabdakalpadruma,[4] thus : "नगा इव प्रासादादयः सन्ति यत्र". It is because a town is the seat of great structures which are firm and impressive like 'nagas' or mountains it is called 'nagara'. The idea of immobility underlies the explanation which compares structures with 'nagas' and this explanation does not seem far-fetched in view of the fact that immobility is a common attribute of architecture, mountains and trees,. In architecture the idea of immobility is expressed by the straight and square features of construction and these features are, as evidenced by the history of architectural designs, qualities originally derived from the material wood and later translated in other more durable materials and taken as the basis of classification of the style Nāgara. In the investigation into the origin and application of the term Nāgara the following points are noteworthy : (1) Nāgara is a style of building connected with Nagara (city) which is the seat of

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1. Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana III, 3,19.
2. Śabdakalpadruma, Vol. II, p. 816.
3. Pāṇini, 5, 2, 107.
4. Śabdakalpadruma, Vol. II, p. 817.

great structures ; (2) the structures which by their number and disposition gave significance to a city in ancient times were square in original design having been evolved of the first and chief material, tree (naga), and in as much as they were characterised by the quality of immobility and firmness lent themselves to a comparison with immobile things of creation ; (3) later they were systematically copied in other more lasting materials such as brick and stone. The Nāgara style in Indian architecture, through an examination of the etymology of the term and its application to earlier and later architecture, thus ultimately seems to be a matter of the association of straight and square features which developed with original wooden structural forms in early cities and which served as models for later square constructions in more lasting materials such as stone and brick.

The interpretation of Vesara in terms of Veśya is not based on fact. It is inconceivable how the term Vesara could be derived from Veśya or connected with voluptuous ornamentation. Divorced from the technical sense of circular style in architecture the term Vesara in its primary, significatory capacity denotes a 'mule' which is an animal produced by the union of horse and ass. Hemacandra gives for the word 'vesara' the synonym 'aśvatara'[1] which means a mule. This word 'vesara' is used by Māgha in the sense of a mule in the line :[2]

"तूर्णं प्रणेता कृतनादमुषकैः प्रणोदितं वेसरयुग्यमध्वनि"

Mallinātha, the commentator, in his commentary on this term, refers to the hybrid character of the animal 'mule' (सङ्करोऽश्वो वेसरः). Evidently the term 'vesara' which means 'a mule' has nothing to do with Jayaswal's suggestion of the Hindu coquette (vesyā) or her ornamentation or voluptuous features. The connotation of the term Vesara with reference to the circular style of structure is comprehensible if we bear in mind two facts, namely (1) that the mule is a product of horse and ass and that in its turn this hybrid animal is conspicuous by an absence of the reproductive activity, and (2) that the circular shape is a derivation

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1. Vide 'Śabdakalpadruma', Vol. IV, p. 507.
2. 'Śiśupālavadham', XII, 19.

from the fundamental square shape and that in its turn it ceases to admit of other shapes. It is well known that the origin of a mule lies in the combination of horse and ass and that while it is thus a product, it is not itself a productive animal. A mule does not beget another animal ; a circle does not beget another shape. As a mule can be got through the agency of horse and ass, a circle can be arrived at through the increase of sides from a square. The conception of the characteristic of a mule seems to have led the Hindu builders to adopt in a figurative and transferred sense the term Vesara in architectural literature conveying the idea of the circular style of construction since in the conception of Hindu builders a circle, which does not yield another shape, is a derivation from the fundamental square through an increase in the sides of the square. The 'Tantrasamuccaya' in the course of the description of the three portions of a liṅga, namely, the square base, octagonal middle and circular top known respectively as Brahmabhāga, Viṣṇubhāga and Rudrabhāga, lays down an interesting rule for designing the octagon, etc. The stanza[1] is as follows :

"तुर्यांश्रे सुसमे प्रसार्ये भुजसूलं कर्णसूत्राध्वना
तत्सान्ताद्हितलक्ष्मसु प्रतिदिशं द्वे द्वे भुजासूत्रके ।
कृत्वा तद्यमध्यसंस्थितचतुष्कोणानि संशोध्य सा—
ष्टस्त्राश्रं विदधीत वृत्तमपि तद्यष्टाश्रकादिक्रमात् ॥

Transl. :

"On the evenly cut square 'śilā' (starting from a corner) draw along the diagonal a line of the measure of the side (of the square) ; put a mark where the line ends ; from each of the marks (thus arrived at), draw in every one of the (four) directions two lines (parallel to the sides of the square), and then cut away (every one of) the four corners marked by the line lying between such two side-lines ; thus should one make a regular octagonal section. And then increasing the sides to sixteen and proceeding in this order one should make also the circular section."[2]

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1. 'Tantrasamuccaya' (T. S. S. ed.), Part I, Paṭala II, st. 125.
2. See the drawings, p. 96, Figures 1 and 2.
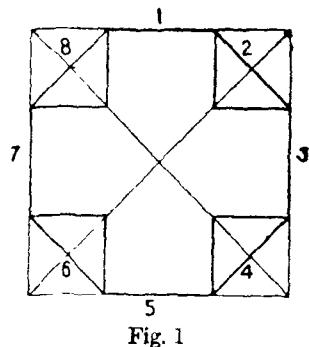
Fig. 1

Explanation : The rectangular 'śilā' must be made even and cut into a square, the side length or width thereof being the same as the width prescribed for the liṅga. The stanza under explanation lays down the process which has to be observed in the transformation of such a square into an octagonal section. The simple direction may be stated thus. Starting from each of the corners of the square, measure along the diagonal a length equal to the side of the square, thus marking four points on the diagonals. Through each of these four points, draw straight lines parallel to the sides of the square, cutting the sides, thus arriving at eight points (two on each side), each forming a vertex of a regular octagon. By cutting the four corners of the square along the straight lines joining two such adjacent points on the adjacent sides of the square, a regular octagon is obtained. Our author's rule in regard to the designing of octagon, etc., is based on the authority of the 'Mañjarī' which states :[1]

"निक्षिप्य कर्णेषु च बाहुसूलं तत्सावसाने विनिधायसूलम् ।
कोणेषु सर्वत्र च निम्नमेतदष्टाश्रकं वृत्तमयेवमेवम् ॥"

The stanzas quoted above suggest that square is the fundamental shape and thus other shapes such as the octagonal and ultimately the circular can be derived from the fundamental square shape. This view of the Hindu builders is indicated in the lines of the 'Sārāvalī' we have quoted in connection with our "Studies on Sanskrit texts on Temple Architecture with special reference to the Tantrasamuccaya".[2]
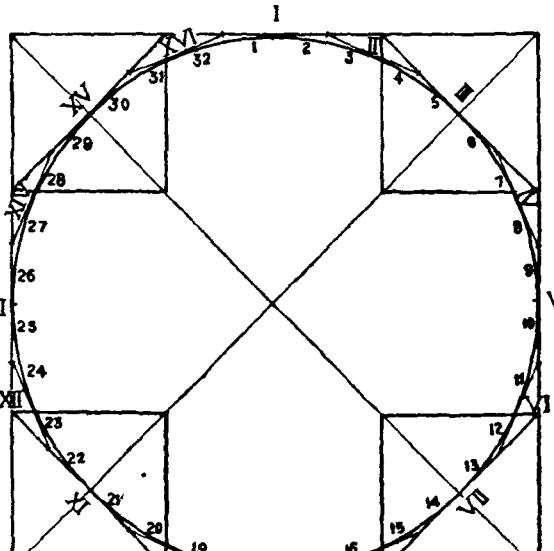
Fig. 2

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1. Vide the Vimarśinī, 'Tantrasamuccaya with Vimarśinī' (T. S. S. ed.), Part I, p. 127.
2. Annamalai University Journal, Vol. X, No. 2, Dec. 1940, p. 197.

JAIN MONUMENTS FROM DEOGARH

by H. D. SANKALIA

Deogarh in Central India is well known for its monuments which throw considerable light on Gupta art, architecture and religious tendencies. But it is not so well known for its later and more numerous monuments which enable one to trace the course of Gupta (?), and post-Gupta Jainism, particularly its Yakṣī iconography and Jain religious order. There are no less than 31 Jain temples, a number of loose Jain sculptures and over 200 inscriptions, the majority of which are dated.[1] But, besides a cursory description of the sculptures,[2] no attempt seems to have been made to study the temples or the sculptures as a whole. Recently a few of the sculptures have been studied and reproduced,[3] but being taken out of their context they do not add materially to our knowledge of later Deogarh (Jain) architecture, sculpture or iconography.

A complete study of the monuments at Deogarh would comprise the evolution of architecture as exhibited by the temples, showing how far these are Gupta, Gurjara Pratihāra, Candrātreya (Candella) and even later than the last ; the study of the sculptures in a similar manner and of their iconography, particularly of the Jain Yakṣīs and lastly the palæography of its scores of inscriptions and its contribution to the development of the Nāgarī.

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1. "Annual Progress Report, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle" 1918, p. 7 ff.
2. Ibid., pp. 12-29.
3. Bhattacharya, ' Jaina Iconography", 1939, Lahore, pls. xii-xvi ; Sankalia, "Jaina Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs", Bulletin, Deccan College Research Institute, I (1940), p. 163 and figs. 6-11 ; Shah, "Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Ambikā", 'JBU'., IX, ii (1940), figs. 2-3.

In the present article a study of the Jain Yakṣis is made and of the palæography as far as it is relevant for their study.

It is not possible to ascertain the nature and prevalence of Jainism at Deogarh during the Gupta or pre-Gupta period because as yet no archæological evidence has come forth. But the existence of the sculptures and inscriptions on the pillar at Kahaum,[1] numerous images of Jain Tīrthaṅkaras from Kosam and other places in the neighbourhood of Allahabad (and now placed in the Municipal Museum there) ; similar images strewn all over at Eran and other places in Central India, and finally the Jain temples and sculptures at Deogarh permit us to postulate that even in the pre-Gupta and Gupta periods Jainism might have flourished at Deogarh.

The Deogarh ruins supply abundant evidence for the existence of Jainism. There, in the period which extends over thousand years (c. 800-1800 A. D.) the evidence consists of temples, images of Jain Tīrthaṅkaras, Yakṣis and others and over two hundred large and small inscriptions, some of them still in site.

The inscriptions contain the names of the images, the names of the donors of the images and sometimes of the various categories of the Jain teachers[2]—'ācārya', 'gaṇi' and 'paṇḍita'.[3]

These details show that from the 9th century onwards Jainism flourished at Deogarh. No inscriptions have yet been found of the period preceding this date, but it is probable that even then, in the 7th and 8th century A. D., Jainism was a living religion there.

The available material does not allow to decide the character of the Jainism, whether Digambara or Śvetāmbara when we get the first abundant evidence of its existence at Deogarh. For the earliest inscription S. 919 (A. D. 862) mentions only the temple of Śāntinātha and gives the names of 'ācārya' Kamaladeva and his 'śiṣya', Deva, who set up a pillar near the aforesaid temple. This 'ācārya' the writer has been

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1. Fleet, "Gupta Inscriptions", CII., III p. 67 ; Cunningham, 'ASI'., I, Pl. XXIX. Kahaum is in the Gorakhpur District, U. P.

2. The details regarding these have been analysed and given in the Appendix.

3. For the distinction between these, see Hœrnle, A. XIX, p. 234.
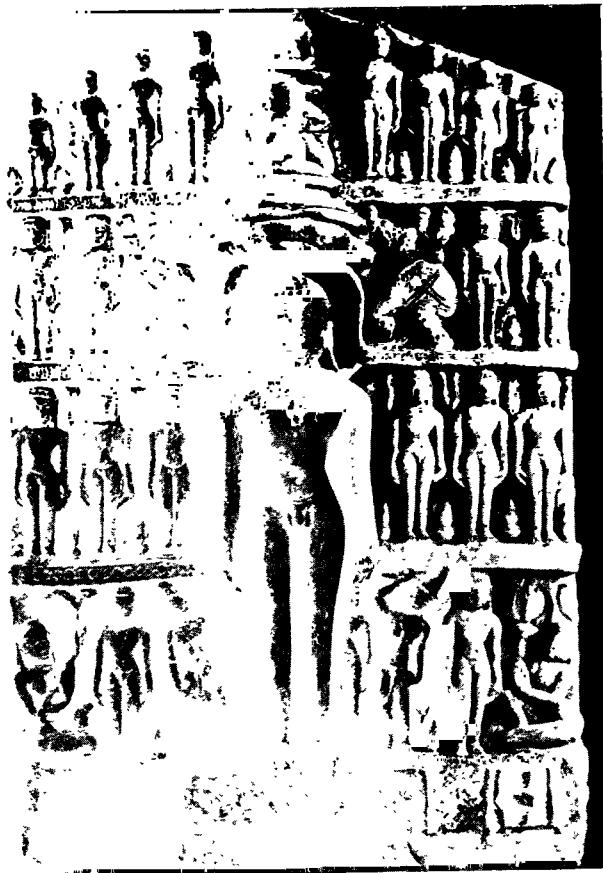
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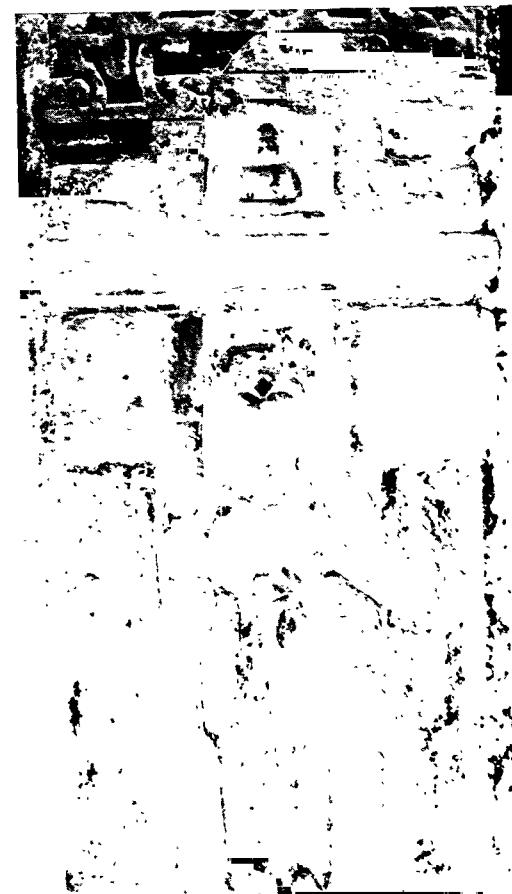
unable to identify, so far from the known lists (paṭṭāvalis) of Jaina teachers.

Jainism of the succeeding centuries however seems to be preponderantly Digambara. For an inscription of S. 1016[1] (A. D. 959-60) mentions Sarasvatī 'gaccha' and the Mūlasaṅgha, whereas the Jinas, (photographs, A. S. I., Nos. 2218, 2222, 2226) are nude. Photograph No. 2222 is of Ṛṣabhanātha and is dated S. 1201 (A. D. 1145-6). It is not improbable that Jainism at Deogarh was mostly Digambara.

The names of the Jaina Yakṣīs as well as the iconographic features of the majority of them are different in Deogarh, as the writer has shown before,[2] from those of the traditional Digambara or Śvetāmbara Yakṣīs. The question is whether these Yakṣīs are different from either of these Yakṣī groups because they conform with a canon of iconography prevalent in Central India, or whether they are much earlier than the canons on the subject, or whether they are merely women attendants with names added afterwards, and not the traditional Yakṣīs, because they seem to be associated with the 24 Jinas.

These questions may be answered to some extent by considering the position of temple No. 12 in the Deogarh group of Jain temples, its architectural style and the place which the Yakṣīs occupy there, the figures of the Yakṣīs and the palæography of the inscriptions on the Yakṣī sculptures.

The Jaina temples occupy the eastern portion of the Deogarh Fort and are enclosed by an inner surrounding wall, the date of which is not known.[3] Nor is it possible to fix its place and date epigraphically. For the earliest dated inscription, No. 49, from temple No. 12, is of S. 1105 (A. D. 948-49). Inscriptions of exactly the same period are found from temple No. 11, and an earlier (?) inscription from temple No. 2. Nevertheless it is possible that temple No. 12 is one of the earliest of

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1. "Report, Northern Circle", 1918, Appendix, No. 138, p. 21.
2. "Bulletin, D. C. R. I", I, (1940), Appendix, pp. 164-68.
3. A. S. I. A. R., l. c., p. 9.

the group.[1] For to the west of it is a porch, one of whose pillars has the earliest inscription[2] in the entire collection, viz., S. 919 (A. D. 862-3 A. D.), belonging to the reign of Bhojadeva, the Gurjara-Pratihāra king of Kanauj. From this it is clear that the first construction of the Jaina temples can be assigned to, at least, the 9th century A. D.

Stylistically, the massive columns and walls, and the simple 'caitya'-window which adorn the slab over which the Jain Tīrthaṅkaras are seated and below which the Yakṣīs are sculptured seem to succeed immediately the Guptan 'caitya'-windows, as noticed at Sānchi, Bhumara and Deogarh itself.

The Yakṣīs which require discussion are 24 in number. They are carved on monolithic slabs in the inter-columnations of the verandah of temple No. 12, beginning from the west end of the south side. Others, as will be shown below, can be assigned a more or less regional and dynastic date on stylistic and other grounds. Out of the 24 Yakṣīs, only 20 are briefly noted by the 'Report'[3] "the remaining 4 being hidden from view by the addition of a later porch."[4]

These figures are regarded as 24 Jaina Yakṣīs, special women attendants of the Jinas, because each one of them has the name of the Yakṣī engraved on it, and is accompanied by a figure of the corresponding Jina. The names as well as iconographical features of many of them differ from the Yakṣīs of the Śvetāmbara and Digambara Jains, described at length in certain works on the subject. Very few of them possess even the essential iconographical features of the Yakṣīs, a number of arms bearing weapons, etc., usually a sitting lalitāsana posture, and the characteristic 'vāhana', vehicle, of each. None of them seems to be accompanied by a Yakṣa, as is generally the case.[5]

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1. This inscription refers to the temple of Śāntinātha and even now the cult image in the dark sanctuary of the temple No. 12 is a colossal statue of Śāntinātha, most probably the original image. ('Report', p. 10).

2. Ibid., Appendix, No. 88 p. 15.

3. Ibid., p. 24, Nos. 2234 to 2253.

4. Ibid., p. 9.

5. Both in literary descriptions and many South Indian monuments.

Would it be possible that the monolithic sculptures were subsequently inserted in the temple ? Were it a cave-temple it would have been thought that the sculptors had cut out the portion between the present two pilaster-like sides of the figures and inserted or carved out a figure in relief. But in the case of this structural temple it would seem it was not possible to take out first a huge slab from the supporting column and then insert another without seriously injuring the structure. The sculptures of Yakṣīs therefore seem to be coeval with the building of the temple.

Regarding the inscriptions on these sculptures, the letters for instance of the name Varddhamāna on sculpture, photograph No. 2251, when compared with similar letters in the 9th century inscription[1] on the pillar of the porch, west of the temple No. 12, do not appear later. As a matter of fact, of all the letters in the pillar inscription the letter 'ma' is the youngest and resembles the Nāgarī 'ma'[2] whereas 'ja' and 'ta' still retain some of their Guptan traits, and letters like 'pa' and 'na' seem to be of the transitory period. Moreover the 'ā' and 'ū' signs have not received a definite form. In some instances we find them as in the modern Devanāgarī, whereas in some the vertical 'ā' sign is indicated only by a loop attached to the right hand top corner of the letter.

If this evidence is accepted as conclusive it follows that the 24 Yakṣī figures are at least of the 9th century A. D. Stylistically also the figures, as the writer has briefly shown,[3] belong to the post-Gupta, but pre-Candella period and the names given to them are coeval with the figures.

Further, as names of Yakṣīs are given, that is, with a view to informing us of the exact characteristics of the 24 Yakṣīs, as then in existence and known to the 'sūtradhāra' (sculptor), the gain to Jain iconography is considerable. For, to summarise briefly the main iconographic and other

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1. The plate is published in Cunningham, 'ASIAR', X, xxxiii, 2. and the text in 'EI', IV, p. 310.

2. The only difference between it and the Devanāgarī 'ma' is that the latter has a complete vertical top stroke, while in the former it is still broken or incomplete. This and other characteristics described above of the 9th century Nāgarī are also seen in the stone inscriptions of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. Cf. for instance 'IA', XV, p. 112 ; 'EI', XIV, p. 184 and XIX, p. 60.

3. 'Bulletin, D. C. R. I.', I (1940), notes on figs. 8-11.

features of the 20 known Yakṣīs at Deogarh : Eleven Yakṣīs are two-armed, and seven four-armed, (about Sulocanā and Sumālinī there is no information). They are standing in 'tribhaṅga' or 'samabhaṅga' pose, unlike the later Yakṣīs who are seated in 'lalitāsana'. One of the hands of the lesser known and figured Yakṣīs is always placed on the waist, or more properly on the thigh ; only a few of them, No. 2249, 2252, seem to have attendants.

One (No. 2244) called Arkarabhī has a 'vāhana' which looks like a swan. Cakreśvarī (No. 2252) had already come to be known by her symbol 'cakra', while others, Padmāvatī for instance who is also figured four-armed, had still to acquire their characteristic emblems.

The iconography of the Yakṣīs seems to be at this period in a formative stage, though already the rest of the Tīrthaṅkaras, besides Mahāvīra, Pārśva, and Ṛṣabha had come to be associated with a Yakṣī.

How far this conclusion, arrived at from purely limited Deogarh archæology, is correct remains to be tested by further exploration and study of Jain works on the subject. For within a couple of centuries Deogarh witnessed the development of the Yakṣī iconography as evidenced by the figures of Cakreśvarī and Mālinī (Nos. 2260-61) and others. Was this—a number of arms, emblems, 'vāhanas', and fearful names—due to Tāntric influence ? It seems so, for works like the 'Nirvāṇakalikā' (c. 700 A. D.) are already redolent with Tāntric formulas, only the full fledged Yakṣa pantheon is missing. This is supplied by Āsādhara (c. 1300 A. D.) in his 'Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra'. Does this work codify the then existing state of Yakṣa-Yakṣī iconography or lay down a canon for the sculptors and laymen to follow ? For, so far, not all the archæological specimens described in this and similar works[1] have been noticed from Deogarh or from Khajraho in North India (where there is a group of Jain temples) or from Śravan Belgola in South India where also a great number of Jain images are said to exist.

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1. 'Siri-Vatthusāra-payaraṇa', Jain Vividhgranthamālā, Ajmer, 1936. This work follows almost literally Āsādhara's work in the description of Digambara Yakṣa-Yakṣīs, the only new addition being a couple of more descriptions of Padmāvatī.

Similar descriptions are also given in 'Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇam' and 'Rūpamaṇḍanam', Calcutta 1936.

APPENDIX

Names of Jaina Teachers from Deogarh Fort Inscriptions

Letters (S), (D), in brackets after the names denote the Jain Saṅgha to which a teacher belongs, e.g. Mūla Saṅgha has 'nandī, candra, kīrti, bhūṣana' ; S = Sena Saṅgha ; D = Devasaṅgha ; Simpha = Siṅha Saṅgha.

		Date	Ref.	Location	Appendix A.
1.	Devendrakīrti (S)				'Progress Report
	disciple of No. 4				Arch. Survey',
	Sarasvatī gaccha and			near the	N. C. 1918.
	Mūla saṅgha	V. S. 1016	Ins. No. 138	Baoli	p. 91.
2.	Mādhavacandra (S)		„ 85	T. No. 12	p. 17.
3.	Nemicandra (S)	V. S. 1709	„ 26	T. No. 4	p. 14.
4.	Ratnakīrti (S)	V. S. 1016	„ 133	near the Baoli	
5.	Śrīdeva (D) disciple of No. 6	V. S. 919	„ 88	T. No. 12	p. 17.
6.	Śrīkamaladeva (Deva) teacher of No. 5.	„	„	„	„
7.	Tribhuvanakīrti, disciple of No 4.				
8.	Vīranaṃdi (S)		Ins. No. 5	T. No. 1	p. 12.

Muni

1.	Subhadevanātha (Deva)	c. 11th century	Ins. No. 23	T. No. 3	p. 13.

Paṇḍitas

	Name	Date	Ref.	Temple No.	Appendix A.
1.	Ajitasiṃha (Simpha)	(V) S. c. 1113	Ins. No. 8	8	p. 12.
2.	Guṇanandin (S)		„ 112	21	p. 19.
3.	Guṇanandin (S) disciple of No. 6		„ 17	2	p. 13.
4.	Laladeva		„ 22	3	p. 13.
5.	Lalitasiṃha (Simpha)		„ 8	1	p. 12.
6.	Lokanandin (S), teacher of No. 3.		„ 17	2	p. 13.
7.	Mādhavanaṃdi (S)	S. 1220	„ 95	16	p. 17.
8.	Sukhaṃkaradeva (Deva)		„ 22	3	p. 13.

Ācāryas

1.	Jayakīrti (S)	(V) S. 1207		4	p. 13.
2.	Kīrtyācārya		Ins. No. 19	2	p 13.
3.	Śrī Nāgasenā (Sena)		„ 90	14	p. 17.
4.	Yaśaḥkīrtti (S)	(V) S. 1121	„ 99	18	p. 18.

in front of Rājyapāla's maṭha

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Description of the reproductions

Pl. XI, Fig. 1. (Photo No 2241).

Jina Ananta and Yakṣī Anantavīryā, T. No. 12, Deogarh, Central India.

Yakṣī, standing almost in 'samabhaṅga' ; two-armed, u. l. h. holding a 'cāmara' ; no 'vāhana'.

C. 800 A. D. Inscription not legible from the photograph (Copyright : Archaeological Survey of India).

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1. For this information I am obliged to the Jain magazine "Bhāskara", 1913, p. 70, which was kindly supplied to me by Mr. K. P. Jain.

Pl. XI, Fig. 3. (Photo No, 2246).
Jina Malli and Yakṣī Bhīmadevī, T. No. 12. Deogarh, Central India.
Yakṣī, standing in 'tribhaṅga' ; two-armed, u. r. h. holding a 'kalaśa' ; no 'vāhana'. C. 800 A. D.
Inscription not legible from the photograph. (Copyright : Arch. Survey of India).

Pl. XII, Fig. 1. (Photo No. 2247).
Jina Munisuvrata and a Yakṣī (not named), T. No. 12, Deogarh, C. I.
Yakṣī standing almost in 'samabhaṅga' on a lotus ; four-armed, l. r. h. seems to carry a 'mālā', emblems in other hands not clear in 'the photograph ; no 'vāhana'. C. 800 A. D.
(Copyright : Arch. Survey of India).

Pl. XII, Fig. 3. (Photo No. 2249).
Jina Ariṣṭanemi and Yakṣī Ambayikā, T. No. 12, Deogarh, C. I.
Yakṣī, standing in 'tribhaṅga' ; four-armed. l. l. h. seems to support a child, emblems in other hands not distinct in the photograph; no 'vāhana'. C. 800 A. D.
Copyright : Arch. Survey of India.

Pl. XI, Fig. 4. (Photo No. 2250).
Jina Pārśva and Yakṣī Padmāvatī, T. No. 12, Deogarh, Central India.
Yakṣī standing in 'samabhaṅga' ; four-armed, upper two hands holding some indistinct objects, l. r. in 'varada', l. l. h. holds a 'kalaśa'. C. 800 A. D.
Copyright : Arch. Survey of India.

Pl. XII, Fig. 4. (Photo No. 2251).
Jina Varddhamāna and Yakṣī Aparājitā, T. No. 12, Deogarh, C. I.
Yakṣī, standing in 'tribhaṅga' ; two-armed, l. h. holds a mace or a bud-like object ; no 'vāhana'. C. 800 A. D.
Copyright : Arch. Survey of India.

Pl. XII, Fig. 2. (Photo No. 2252).
Jina Rṣabha and Yakṣī Cakreśvarī, T. No. 12, Deogarh, C. I.
Yakṣī standing almost in 'samabhaṅga' ; four-armed, holding a 'cakra' in all the 4 hands ; an attendant on either side ; no vāhana. C. 800 A. D. (Copyright: Arch. Survey of India).

Pl. XI, Fig. 2. (Photo No. 2222).
Jina Rṣabha, Deogarh, C. I.
Jina nude and standing in 'kāyotsarga', in what looks like a 'caturviṃśati-jinapaṭa' under a triple umbrella, surmounted by a squatting 'gaṇa' ; 'vāhana' : 'vṛṣabha' (bull), carved in very low relief on the pedestal, above the inscription.
The inscription is dated V. S. 1201 (A. D. 1145-6), and mentions the donor Madanajina.

THE HISTRIONIC ART OF MALABAR

by C. A. MENON

I. Kerala Society

If we look into the forest of Malabar we find a number of aboriginal inhabitants formed into different communities such as Nayadis, Malayans and Pariahs, etc., having nothing in common except their primitiveness. The first though called Nayadi, 'hunter', never do hunting and are sometimes vegetarians. Their comrades in the forest, on the other hand, are experts in every variety of black art or sorcery and eat the flesh of all animals. The two are distinct entities. One looks upon the other with suspicion and never lives as a neighbour of the other. Each community has its own god to be propitiated in certain seasons of the year with ceremonial dances and offerings.

In the 'country' or plains ordered society appears with its distinctions of caste and creed under the broad division of high and low. On the lowest rung of the ladder are Ceruman and Kanakkan who are slave labourers maintained by landlords for work in the field and elsewhere in the lands they own. They are born dancers and the harvest season, when they get enough paddy from their masters for their luxuries, which comprise a new cloth and a modest provision for drink and a holiday to witness the festivals at temples (Kali temples), present them at their best. As the proverb goes, whatever comes uppermost in their mouth is their song which generally deals with the temples they see at a distance or the paddy fields in which they work throughout the day during winter, or important ceremonies in their master's house, or their dealings with other communities. Their sense of rhythm is proverbial. They generally dance in company and their steps can be heard from a distance. They are timed with remarkable precision with the result that a hundred steps sound as one. They never go wrong even if they are under the influence of drink which only makes them dance better.

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The next man in the social scale is the Panan. He is professionally the manufacturer of umbrellas made of palm leaf which is cheap enough to suit the taste and pocket of all. His craft marks him out as an artist of no ordinary capacity although he is rarely appreciated as he has set a low value on his work. Besides, he is the chief entertainer for the lower classes and sings at seasonal festivals ceremonial songs. Dance, mimicry and a kind of dramatic presentation of social and mythical incidents form the chief items of the entertainment he provides. The performance is called Pankali which lasts for the whole night.[1]

Then comes the Vannan or Mannan who is a washerman by profession. He is to be distinguished from the Veluttetan (washerman for higher classes). The Vannan is intimately associated with the worship of the Mother called Karinkali (literally : black Kālī) and he is the chief priest in her temples and master of the ceremonies called Vellattu and Vellari. In the more 'refined' Kālī temples frequented by the higher classes like Nayars and Nambudiris he appears during festivals with masks of different kinds performing a kind of dance which is appreciated by his community and his patrons who give him due recognition. On the final day of the festival called Puram experienced dancers of this type come with a semi-circular headgear, three to four feet high, and visit houses within the jurisdiction of the temple to which they are attached dancing dexterously with that unwieldy encumbrance on their head and finish the day's work at the temple. Some of them get possessed during the day and go on dancing till they are caught and persuaded to stop by others. They generally fast for the whole day out of devotion to the goddess.

The leading community among the lower classes is called Izuvan or Tiyan ; they once held an amount of authority among the communities mentioned above in settling their disputes and social problems. Their status varies in different parts of Kerala along with their nomenclature and the community has three or four sub-divisions. A section has been engaged for centuries in the manufacture of toddy or arrack as their

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1. He is also noted for his knowledge of medicine and whenever a native physician makes a prescription a Panan is engaged to procure the ingredients as he is the only person who can identify the various shrubs mentioned in *it.*

profession while another section hold the title Tandayma (the leadership among the lower classes) and enter the battle-field along with the Nayars. There is a theory that this community came from Izom—now identified with Ceylon—and brought the coconut[1] to Malabar for the first time. Their favourite pastime is a sword and shield dance called 'palisa muttumkali' (literally the shield-strike-dance) which is a relic of the part which this community once played in war. It may also be observed in this connection that this past-time is popular also with Nayars and the non-Hindu communities like the Muslims and Christians of Malabar. Whether it was copied from the Nayars by the Tandans or vice versa is a disputed point. Among non-Hindu communities it is a recent innovation and there is no doubt about its origin. In respect of the Tandan or Izuvan the matter is not easy to decide. In the history of Malabar the Izuvan or Tiyyan possesses equal claim for priority with the Nayars. In fact, the folk-lore seems to suggest that they settled in Malabar earlier, holding prominent positions in society in ancient times, which they lost owing to certain historical or social developments that occurred later and of which it is not easy to determine the precise nature. There is no doubt, that they were once more closely associated with the Nayars in various social rites than they are at present.

Among the so-called higher classes who are officially called caste Hindus in Malabar three deserve mention, the Ambalavasis, Nayars and Nambudiris.

The name of the Ambalavasis[2] denotes their traditional connection with the temple. This is a promiscuous community containing a number of sub-divisions mutually exclusive. To say that the Ambalavasis constitute the intermediate caste between the Nambudiris and Nayars is misleading. It is true that temple work is a common link among them, but it must also be borne in mind that the term is comprehensive

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1. The Malayalam word for it is Ten Ka = southern fruit ; (Ten—south ; Kay=fruit). The name suggests only its entry from the south but has no reference to the community that brought it.

2. Ambalam=Temple ; Vasi=one who lives ; i. e., one who lives in a temple. The Ambalavasi does not live in a temple but he resides within a convenient distance of it.

enough to comprise services of various denominations from 'pūjā' down to cleaning. Pūjā is done by the Nambudiri who now occupy the highest position in the social hierarchy. The others are in a way their assistants. Certain sub-divisions of the Ambalavasis like Varier, Poduval, Pisaroti, are more closely connected with temple service and are on a superior level while others like Cakkyar and Nambiar are required to be in the temple only on ceremonial occasions. There is again the Maran, the drummer, who attends the temple constantly but does not enjoy the same status as the others. In certain localities he serves some section of the Nayars during pollution time. The position of Kuruppu also is similar. The high class Nayars never used to dine with any of these and there was no inter-marriage also. In the light of these facts it is not exact to describe them as occupying a position between the Nayars and the Nambudiris. Tradition and their customs suggest that they were evolved out of the out-castes from both communities—the Nayars and the Nambudiris—and with the installation of the latter in the temple they rose in varying degrees in their status and influence. Whatever their origin, from the point of view of art their importance is unquestionable. Four institutions, Kuttu, Kutiyattam, Pathakam and Pattu which will be described in the course of this chapter are their distinct contributions to the histrionic art of Malabar and their influence on its general development has been by no means inconsiderable.

The term Nayar unlike other caste appellations of Malabar is applied to a number of clans and communities ranging from Rajas and aristocrats who interdine with the Kerala Brahmans, to the lowest clan whose members are regarded as untouchables. The Rajas and aristocrats began to style themselves as Kṣatriyas being warriors, although such a denomination conveyed no special significance in the society of Kerala in ancient times. The qualification of fighting also was possessed by many other sub-sections of Nayars such as Kaimal, Panikkar, Kurup,[1] Nambiyar.[2] The innumerable subdivisions into which the Nayar

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1—2. Some clans among the Ambalavasis also bear these titles.

community is split indicate that it was once a self-sufficient unit in Malabar and that the various divisions that it now comprises are the result of the distribution of various administrative and social duties which they were performing once. According to the nature of their functions the members of each clan came to be looked upon as of superior or inferior status. Communities that bear the names Kaimal, Panikkar, Menon, Kurup, etc., earned their respective titles through special services rendered to the State, which their descendants enjoyed later. The rest were called Nayars with the distinctive qualifications such as Vattekkat or Attikkurussi indicating their special functions. Customs and manners differ with each clan but the matriarchal system[1] of inheritance distinguishes them from the other communities of Malabar. The majority of them took to fighting as a profession and the term Nayar is often synonymous with captain or general or even a fighter. As the ruling class for several centuries they have left their mark on the various arts and institutions of Malabar particularly on Kathakali. The Nayar militia exercised a healthy influence on the society of Kerala and served as a check on the autocracy of their kings.[2] The mother goddess was their guardian deity and their gymnasium (kalari) inevitably contained an image of Kālī for them to worship before they begun their daily lessons. Ancestor worship and serpent worship also form a part of their traditional culture. Different theories are current about their association with Malabar.[3] According to some, Rajputana is their original home, while others transfer it to the land that borders on the Mediterranean. Anthropologists will yet have to make a systematic study of this subject.

The Nambudiri community occupies the first rung of the social ladder in modern Malabar. They are regarded as the representatives of the Aryans who colonised Malabar in pre-historic times led by their

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1. A section among the Nambudiris and the Tiyyar follow the same system. It is not universal among them.

2. Logan, 'Malabar Manual', Vol. 1. Preface, p. iv.

3. One of them identifies them with the Nāgas of the Drāviḍian family of races, another makes them the West coast counterparts of the Naidus and Mudaliars of the Eastern districts of South India.

leader Paraśurāma, the mythical Brahman hero. Although they were once noted for their Vedic learning—and humour (the latter they still retain)—in general appearance and stature they look the same as high class Nayars, the majority of whom still enjoy the right of dining with them. Their inheritance is a compromise between the matriarchal and patri- archal systems. While the descent among them is generally reckoned through the father, the paternal uncle succeeds him as the head of the family. Only the eldest : brother among them marries in his own community,[1] the younger brothers choose their wives from the prominent Nayar houses against the original custom which insisted on their celibacy and devotion to religion. The majority of them are priests in temples. There is evidence to show that a section among them called Adhyans shared administrative functions with the Nayars. As a cultured community they have exerted considerable influence on the development of litera- ture and art of Kerala. In respect of Kathakali they have joined hands with the Nayars and have shared with them the credit for shaping its technique and design.

II. Types of dances

We shall now proceed to survey the various aspects of the histrionic art of Malabar, which these communities developed. The temples of Malabar were the chief centres of art in its various manifestations except certain varieties of it that were developed among the lower classes. Even those forms of the histrionic art that have no religious signi- ficance such as Tullal were included as items of temple festivals. Had it not been for such an inclusion a good number of them would have perished long ago owing to the unfavourable conditions that developed later.

Influence of the 'mother-cult'. Mother worship forms the earliest cult of Malabar and has therefore, a major share in the development of the dramatic art. Ayyappan, the guardian deity of the village, and Vettakkaran, the hunter god, are other deities whose propitiation has

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1. In recent times a law has been introduced allowing the younger brothers to marry in their own community.

given rise to certain varieties of the art. The snake also has a place in this group and a contribution to its credit. Śiva and Viṣṇu loom large in its latest phase. These deities form the nucleus round which the arts rallied.

The art in general lends itself to a broad division such as popular and classical. This applies to all branches of it. A further classification into religious and secular is also necessary. We shall give precedence to the Mother and describe a few prominent types of her cult dances. The varieties which the Mother-cult has inspired from time immemorial to the present day are innumerable. They range from the crudest to the most highly refined variety.

(a) Religious Types

Pana. Among the popular religious types Pana deserves some prominence both in point of antiquity and dance modes. It is generally performed by Nayars in their houses as an offering to the goddess Kālī, and its literature can be reckoned as the oldest available in Malayalam. It is styled Kālīnāṭakam, the drama of Kālī. It is conducted either as a day ceremony or a day and night ceremony. In the night the items of the day's ceremony are repeated with a fire-walking scene as a finale.

A big 'pandal' or flat roof supported by 64 pillars is constructed first. Within the four pillars at its centre a sanctum sanctorum decorated by tender coconut leaves and fruits is then set apart to propitiate the goddess who is represented for the time being by a branch of the 'pala'[1] tree with three sprouts, that is ceremoniously escorted to the place and planted there. This is followed by a 'pūjā' by the leader of the troop, who dances round the place to the rhythm of the accompaniments (drum, 'para'[2] and cymbals) offering flowers, etc., to the goddess as he dances. The last item of the 'pūjā' is pouring on himself a red liquid which is a mixture of saffron and white lime and spilling it on all sides. This is a relic of the original blood-offering to the goddess. He fasts till the 'pūjā' is over. Another prominent member of the troop then dances

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1. Asclepias, a tree that has a milky juice.
2. Somewhat resembling a drum but producing a different variety of sound.

round the central place with a torch in his hand specially made for the occasion. This dance is more strenuous and technical than the 'pūjā'-dance. When this is over the whole troop sometimes assisted by a few others perform a circular dance round the sanctum sanctorum each member holding a wooden ornamental stick in his hands. The next item is the singing of the songs called Torram describing Kālī's birth and her encounter with Dāruka, the lord of the Asuras. Towards the close, the Mother is invoked and requested to come in person to receive the offering when a Komaram (oracle) who is called Veliccappatu appears. He also dances round the place when the whole troop join him and indulge in a tumultuous uproar and violent dance which symbolise the Mother's pleasure. In the course of this chaotic item the sanctum sanctorum is demolished. The present writer still recalls the thrill which he enjoyed as a boy of ten when he ran away from home and danced with a Pana troup. Though he had no previous training in it he kept pace with others full of intense excitement which made him forget the strain and exhaustion.

2. Bhagavati Pattu. Bhagavati Pattu is another variety of Mother-worship. This is the exclusive right of a section of Ambalavasis called Kurupp or Kurippu (derived from the word Kurikkuka, 'draw') and is conducted either within the precincts of Kālī temples or the houses of Nambudiri Brahmans. From the environment and the circumstances in which this ritual is performed we are led to suppose that this is an attempt to raise the popular Pana to a higher level to suit the conditions of caste distinctions that developed in the society of Kerala by that time. The literature of both has a striking similarity as Pattu appears as a revised version of Torram. First the figure of Kālī is drawn by the Kuruppu with powder of different colours, which acquires divine significance through a 'pūjā' performed by a Nambudiri. At the time of the 'pūjā' the Kuruppu disappears and the drum is played in a low tone.[1] He re-enters after that and sings the hymn which is in pure

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1. This practice suggests that the Nambudiri had no place in the original scheme of things.

Malayalam describing the same theme as that of the Pana Torram. The arrival of the Komaram or Veliccappattu (oracle) who after a ritual dance communicates the blessings of the goddess to the devotee marks the end of the ceremony.

A similar ceremony is performed for the hunter-god Vettukkaran.

3. Mutiyerru. The most imposing of the types inspired by Kālī-worship is the Mutiyerru which consists of two words Muti and Erru, 'wearing'. In this we notice the next stage when an attempt is made to present the theme used for the rituals mentioned above in some form of realistic 'reproduction' in which we see the beginnings of tragic drama. This is again performed by the Kuruppu in Kālī temples and the communities that have no access to the temple can not witness it except from an elevated place at a distance. "They arrive early in the afternoon, and in a conspicuous place in the temple-front prepare a relief of the goddess Kālī in her most terrific aspect. Simultaneously with the evening rites in the temple, they begin to entertain the people with their music, vocal and instrumental. When the evening rites and ceremonies of the temple are over, the image of the goddess is taken in procession and after a fixed number of circumambulations in the precincts of the temple it is kept in a prominent place. The first item in the representation is a meeting between Śiva and Nārada, when the latter informs him that the earth is groaning under the oppression of Dāruka and it closes with Śiva's promise of his destruction by Kālī. In the meanwhile, the two characters, who impersonate Kālī and Dāruka are dressed in costumes, are ready to appear and at the appointed hour Dāruka comes out and challenges Kālī. The challenge is accepted and Kālī rushes in. There is no fixed stage, the whole temple area forms the stage and the characters walk about in a moving fight. Here is a long drawn out process of acting a battle between the two, and ultimately the Goddess wins killing Dāruka. The last act is an imposing scene and fills the audience with terror, occurring as it does at day-break."[1] (Kālī kills Dāruka torturing him to the

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1. Kerala Theatre, by K. Rama Pisharoti, Annamalai University Journal, Vol. I. No. 1, pp. 98-99.

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utmost). After his death his crown is removed by Kālī and is worn by her.

4. Brahmanipattu. There is another variety of Pattu called Brahmanipattu which is conducted exclusively by women belonging to a set of Ambalavasis called Puṣpiṇīs or Brahmanis. This is mostly a family function. A four-footed stool called 'pīṭha' is placed in a convenient spot and rendered pure by certain ceremonies. The women will stand round and sing the songs in praise of the Mother. They become possessed after some time and begin to dance round the 'pīṭha' in ecstasy.

5. Pavakkuttu. Pavakkutu is another performance associated with Kālī temples. Although it is performed outside the premises of the Kālī temples it has nothing to do with Kālī or the legend about the Mother. It follows a different tradition to which Kālī's name is tagged on. It is a kind of shadow-play which has its counterpart in Java and China and in which scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa are enacted through puppet-shadows manipulated by two men standing on a raised platform behind a white curtain. This takes place in a building[1] outside the temple premises. Inside the curtain is arranged a row of lamps which make the shadows perceptible to the audience who assemble in front of it. The men handling the puppets start the performance in dialogues that are mostly in Tamil and based on the Rāmāyaṇam by Kamban. The characters concerned are represented by puppets. The performers conduct even battles with them. The show runs for the whole night during which they indulge in disquisitions on various subjects suggested by the context in a competitive spirit. It takes one full month to complete the story of Rāma. In its popular appeal it is like Kathakali which can be witnessed by all classes of people in Malabar. Kathakali has gone a step further in that it can be performed in any convenient place while the stage for the Pavakkuttu must necessarily be near a Kālī temple.

There is a story that explains how Pavakkuttu came to be associated with Kālī temples. It gives us an idea of the gradual

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1. It is called Kuttumatam.

Plate XIV

penetration of the Rāma-saga into Malabar where the Kālī legend held sway in ancient times. It would appear according to tradition that the battle between Kālī and Dāruka was fought at the time when Rāma was engaged in his campaign against Rāvana, the Lord of Laṅka. The timing of the two great fights deprived the victors of a chance of witnessing the other and so it was considered desirable that the Mother should be given an opportunity to see it through its presentation in the form of Pavakkuttu which dealt with the story of Rāma. Why Rāma did not evince a similar interest in the combat between Kālī and Dāruka is not made clear by the legend. Perhaps the increasing importance of the Rāma-cult and the gradual decline of the Mother-cult are responsible for the omission of a similar institution in temples dedicated to Rāma. The custom that Pavakkuttu should be performed only outside the Kālī temples and not inside shows that at the time of its introduction the Mother-cult was still strong in popular conception and that the Rāma legend was yet waiting for its turn to be admitted within the sacred precincts of the Kālī temples. In these legends we notice the beginning of the fusion between Aryan and Dravidian culture and the progressive super-imposition of one cult over the other. In the Kālī—Dāruka legend it must be borne in mind that Dāruka is a worshipper of Śiva and when he dies the divine knowledge that Kālī is the daughter of Śiva dawns on him and he expresses satisfaction that he receives death at her hands. Here the Mother-cult and Śiva-cult merge into each other. The introducion of the Rāma-saga is a sign of the appearance of the Visnu-cult which is only yet finding its way. Later developments in Malabar show that the Visnu-cult gradually gained ascendency over others and many Kālī temples were converted into shrines dedicated to either Rāma or Krsna. The history of the arts also bears testimony to this development which will be elucidated presently when describing the other types.

6. Tiyyattu and Ayyappan Pattu. In ancient Kerala the god Ayyappan Vettakkaran came next to the Mother in importance. The former is called Ayyanar in Tamil and seems to have enjoyed a wider jurisdiction than the latter whose activities are confined only to Malabar. The cult of Ayyappan has given rise to two forms of worship which are important from the point of view of dramatic art. The first is

Tiyyattu[1] literally the 'dance of fire'. In general outline it resembles Bhagavatipattu except that towards the end of the ceremony the Komaram when he is possessed jumps into fire before he begins his ecstatic dance. The figure drawn on the floor also is different bearing distinctive features of the deity. Another variety of the worship of Ayyappan is Ayyappanpattu. This resembles Pana in important details. The preparations are more or less the same but the theme of the songs deals with the adventurous journey of the village god to the forest to get tiger's milk. On his return he meets Vavar who is considered to be a Muslim saint. When that part of the story is reached two characters impersonating Ayyappan and Vavar appear. In certain contexts the god is referred to as a Nayar hero who performed a daring deed and became famous thereby. Both make a trial of their strength by a duel which is performed to the rhythm of the music of the singers and accompaniments. This is a very entertaining item of the performance and sometimes continues for hours if the actors are really clever. The god fights with the sword while Vavar has only a defensive weapon. In the end both part as friends and Ayyappan extends an invitation to Vavar to see him occasionally. This ceremony bears also a historical significance. This is the first time a non-Hindu appears in a Hindu religious context in which is dramatised the original reaction of Hindu society towards the introduction of Islam in Malabar and their final settlement as friendly neighbours, which also speaks of the tolerance of the Hindu religion.

There are also other instances of representations of historical incidents embodied in secular types which will be dealt with presently.

7. Pampan Tullal. This ceremony arose out of the snake-cult and is performed by Pulluvans. Nayars and others who believe that they are under the curse of the snake send for Pulluvans who come early in the evening and draw the figures of two snakes intertwined, in a place specially cleaned for the purpose. The two represent opposite sexes. After the drawing is completed they sit at a distance making room

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1. Consists of two words : Tiyyu, fire ; Attu, dance with uproar.

for the Nayar who bestows sacredness on it by a 'pūjā'. Dances round the spot which remind us of the Pana then take place. This is followed by two young girls sitting on the figures of the snakes—like Anantan and others accompanied by their woman partners—with their own instruments.[1] In a few moments the girls get possessed and begin to dance and swing on either side like snakes. The Pulluvan stops singing at once and asks questions of the possessed girls who communicate the wishes of the snake to the master of the ceremony which is thus brought to a close. The place of Pulluvan is sometimes taken by the Kuruppu who generally officiates in ceremonies for Kālī.

(b) Secular Types

Pankali. We have been describing till now types that have a religious significance. Kerala society has also developed other dances meant for pastime pure and simple and but remotely connected with a god. The Pankali is one such that is popular among the Panans, one of the lower classes of Malabar. For want of encouragement this is dying out. It has many interesting items and is more in the nature of a variety entertainment. There is no conscious attempt to enact a story. The performance lasts the whole night and is announced in the afternoon by the beating of a drum. The villagers assemble in an open space or the yard before a house or a paddy field during summer. Its most striking feature is the appearance of two lovers who are called Southerners.[2] They sing songs and perform what is called a 'competitive dance' professing love to each other and exhibiting the various aspects of it. They also make fun of each other. The man taunts the girl that she has another lover and the girl retorts in the same way. The dialogue is in song which is adapted to a delicate and soft dance. Another feature is the appearance of a buffoon who entertains the spectators with his satirical comment usually directed against persons and customs of the higher castes. He never dances but he is a good mimic. At the close of the performance the spectators contribute their mite and disperse.

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1. An earthen pot with a leather case on one side to which a string is attached, to play on.
2. Tekkanum Tekkattiyum.

2. Korattiyattam is another pastime practised by Korattis, the women-folk of a community called Koravans who correspond to the Gipsies of Europe. They are palmists and fortune-tellers by profession and travel from place to place. Their nomadic life indicates their foreign origin, but for centuries they have been a part of the society of Malabar. Two characters appear in the guise of women who are supposed to be divine spouses of the Gods Śiva and Viṣṇu. They start a dance to the accompaniment of instrumental music interpreting songs by gestures. The songs discuss the merits of their respective husbands which the other repudiates humorously. The songs are in simple colloquial Malayalam.

3. Kaikottikkali which literally means dance accompanied by clapping of hands is another source of entertainment among Nayars and Nambudiris. Both men and women take part in it. But it is generally considered to be a women's art. It is a circular dance in which the dancers sing clapping hands to the rhythm of the song, which synchronises with the steps. The tradition which connects it with Kṛṣṇa's circular dance with herds-women must, I believe, be assigned to a later period. It has different varieties of steps and is an inevitable item of entertainment during the harvest festivals like Onam and Tiruvatira to which it must have been originally attached. The Kummi style of dance which forms one of its varieties has found its way into Kathakali.

4. Ezamutti, which was once popular among the Ambalavasis and the country folk is in the list of the forgotten arts. It is a purely domestic entertainment indulged during leisure time. "A number of people sit round a lighted lamp. With the sound of a musical instrument one of them sings a riddle-song and asks another to answer the riddle. His failure to solve the riddle gets him the punishment which should take the form of acting with or without the costume the part in which he is proficient. The acting covers a wide range from drinking liquor to a scene from the classics. The word Ezamutti means seven old hags, but no woman takes part in this."[1] From the name of the art we should infer that it was once an exclusive pastime of women who were forced to give it up in later times owing to some social change.

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1. Kerala Stage, by K. Rama Pisharoti, op. cit.

5. Mohiniyattam or the siren's dance was once popular. This is a solo performance by a woman who appears in the most seductive form and entertains the audience with dance and music. The dance is of a 'mild' type and is designed to show the bodily movements and charm of the actress at her best. It is often associated with the mythical story in which Viṣṇu appears as Mohinī (enchantress) to tempt the demon Sūrpaka who harassed Śiva. But the songs used for the performance make no reference to the story. An attempt is now being made to revive this form of dance.

(c) 'Classical' Types

Yatrakkali. In the classical varieties we will describe the influence of Sanskrit traditions on the arts of the country. The epic stories in which Rāma or Kṛṣṇa are the leading characters gradually replace those relating to the local gods. One such type is the Sanghakkali or Yatrakkali so styled as there were special 'sanghams', schools or troops who practised it exclusively. This is mainly performed by Nambudiris. The various aspects are (1) Kali, (2) Nalupadam, Vekkal, (3) Pana, (4) Angyangal and (5) Hasyangal. The second part consists of a kind of dance around a lighted lamp accompanied by songs in pure Malayalam. The fourth item is a sword-play in which a mock-fight is exhibited by the actors dressed in military costume. This item is generally performed with the co-operation of Nayars who were the leading military class. The last part brings in a master-idiot known as Kaimal who is the traditional Nayar chieftain. He is received with due honour but is driven out unceremoniously. It is possible to read into this the gradual extraction of powers from the Nayars by the Nambudiris by their subtle machinations.

2. Kuttu and Kutiyattam are more important from the point of view of art. Kuttu is mainly a recitation of Purāṇic stories and usually from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata by the Ambalavasi caste called Cakyars who recite verses and proceed to elucidate their meaning. It is in the elaborate exposition of it, illustrating it by reference to contemporary characters and incidents, that the real entertainment lies. The Cakyar is noted for his satire. His performance serves the purpose of the press in ventilating public grievances and commenting on the actions of public

men. He is accompanied by a drum called 'mizavu', and a Nangyar woman who marks the rhythm with a pair of cymbals. In course of time, narration and satire became more prominent and music and dance suggested by the drum and cymbals were reduced to the barest minimum.

3. Kutiyattam, a joint performance as distinguished from the solo entertainment called Kuttu, afforded full scope for the histrionic talents of the Cakyar. In this a number of Cakyar join to stage a Sanskrit drama. Though the material is taken from Sanskrit it has been thoroughly transformed owing to the influence of indigenous traditions of dance and acting. One performance extends over eight days and the first four days are taken up with the preliminaries and discussions on the duties of a king and his subjects. The Cakyar begins his performance with a Malayalam prayer which indicates that it is founded in indigenous art. When he begins the Sanskrit text he gives a commentary of it in Malayalam and acts with the help of gestures, dancing to the accompaniment of music. His gesture language is restricted in scope when compared to that used by Kathakali actors. The Cakyar, on the whole, relies on facial expression in preference to dance. Kuttu and Kutiyattam are performed only in temples but when their importance as social institution was established the religious significance gradually disappeared.

4. Pathakam and 5. Nangyar Kuttu. Another section among the Cakyars called Nambiars has to their credit an institution called Pathakam which is an imitation of Kuttu with none of its accompaniments. It is performed sometimes outside the temple precincts but in it there is neither music nor dance. It is a more humorous narration of a story with a deal of satire. Their women who are called Nangyars perform a variety of Kuttu called Nangyar Kuttu which is only a reproduction of what the Cakyar does in Kuttu with the difference that the women indulge in no satire and give prominence to music and dance.

6. Kṛṣṇattam and 7. Aṣṭapadiyattam are other varieties of the classical type. Kṛṣṇattam has the story of Kṛṣṇa as its theme, but makes no mention of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa episode. It draws its material from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. Its composition resembles that of the Gīta Govinda and Kathakali and consists of Ślokas (four-footed stanzas) followed by a song. The story of Kṛṣṇa is divided into eight parts and enacted in eight days. The text is in pure Sanskrit. But

its dance modes and technique are indigenous. Some characters use masks but others paint their faces and wear distinctive costumes. The circular dance of Kṛṣṇa with the Gopis is an important item in one day's play and reminds us of the popular Kaikottikkali. The gesture language used by the actors is not so complicated as that of Kathakali.

Aṣṭapadiyattam is the staging of the famous Gīta-Govinda of Jayadeva. How this classic which had its origin in Bengal in the 11th century A. D. was transplanted to Malabar leaving little trace on its way is a matter to be investigated. The songs are sung in the traditional way and their meaning is interpreted through acting and gesture language to the accompaniment of dance. The theme of the work is the amours of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. This is a highly devotional play and a supreme example of the blending of love with religious fervour (bhakti).

8. Kathakali. In point of time Kṛṣṇattam and Aṣṭapadiyattam come after Kathakali which is the crowning achievement of the people of Malabar in histrionic art. Its technique is established on a firm traditional basis. It combines the vigour and control of body which the Nayars, its founders, exhibited in warfare and the refinement of the Nambudiris who patronised it in a later age.

Kathakali plays are noted for the episodes they present rather than as continuous stories. Exigencies of the art render certain typical situations essential and the literature has often yielded to the art instead of leading it. Different episodes from different stories are often enacted in the same night to suit the taste of the audience and the capacity of the actors. This tendency is a survival of the early stage when only individual episodes were presented. This also accounts for the indifference of the writers in respect of striking a dominant note or sentiment in the play. In this respect a Kathakali play is just the opposite of a Sanskrit drama. They care more for the parts of the story than for the whole story.

Tradition ascribes the origin of Kathakali to a feud between a Zamorin of Calicut and a Raja of Kottarakkara (Central Travancore). The story tells that a Raja of Kottarakkara requested the Zamorin Raja of Calicut to send his Kṛṣṇanattam troop to the former's

palace. The Zamorin Raja did not comply with the request on the ground that there were no scholars at Kottarakkara who would appreciate Krṣṇanattam. This was too great an insult, and the Kottarakkara Raja decided to organise a rival art, called Rāmanattam on the model of Krṣṇanattam. He divided the story of Rāma into eight parts, and composed songs and 'ślokas' for an eight days' performance at a stretch. The first performance under the auspices of the Kottarakkara Raja was staged according to tradition in the year 1491 A. D. before the local Gaṇapati[1] shrine, the family deity of the Raja. This legend gained such currency that even scholars accepted it without making an attempt to verify the truth. A detailed study of Rāmanattam and Krṣṇanattam however, reveals a different story. The Kālī-chronogram contained in Krṣṇanattam, viz., 'grahyasthuthir gathakai' shows that it is written in the year 829 of the Malayalam era (1653 A. D.). The second 'śloka' of the first part of Rāmanattam mentions Vīrakeralavarma Raja, who is the author of the piece, as a contemporary of the famous Śankarakavi (whose poetic genius won the admiration of no less a literary giant than Uddaṇḍaśāstrikal). According to Travancore history, the reign of Vīrakeralavarman falls in the period between the years 659 to 667 Malayalam era (1487-1492 A. D.). The internal evidence available both of Krṣṇanattam and Rāmanattam leads us to the conclusion that Rāmanattam is at least 170 years older than Krṣṇanattam and as such the latter could not be regarded as the forerunner of the former.

The Rādhā-Krṣṇa episode, which has been immortalised by the later Vaiṣṇavite saints and which is prominently illustrated in Krṣṇanattam is conspicuous by its absence in Kathakali.

The story referred to seems to mean that the kings of Kerala began to throw in the weight of their influence and resources for the development of the art of Kathakali after the rebuke administered by the Zamorin to Kottarakkara when they found that its potentiality was immense and

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1. This Gaṇapati shrine does not exist as a separate temple now, and there is no means of verifying the truth of this statement.

the people were keen on its improvement.[1] With the royal patronage, the art entered on a new phase which quickened the pace of its development. The theory that Kathakali art is only about 250 years old has, therefore, to be discounted. It would appear that there is another legend current among the older generation which says that the Zamorin organised Kṛṣṇanattam after a similar rebuff from the Kottarakkara Raja.

The Kathakali stage has, as part of its equipment, a flat roof called 'pandal' supported by four pillars with a bell-metal lamp in front. It must not be assumed that the 'pandal' serves as a protection, as Kathakali is performed in the open air and actors very often transgress the limits of the area covered by the 'pandal', especially in scenes representing a fight or a duel. 'Cenda' (drum) and 'sudha maddalam' (somewhat akin to 'mṛdaṅgam', but about four times its size), 'chengals' (a round, thin, metal piece to mark time), and 'elattalam' (two round cymbals) which are used along with the drum and 'maddalam' when the actors dance, form the accompaniments. A curtain, a rectangular red cloth about five feet long and seven feet broad, with various designs, is held by two men on either side. This is to be lowered or taken aside when the actors appear. In the evening on the day of the performance there is what is called a 'keli-kottu', i. e., beating of the drum and 'maddalam' as a sort of signal or notice to the public announcing the night performance.

At about eight o' clock in the night, when people have finished their evening meal, the 'maddalam' will appear on the stage. This must be taken as a continuation of 'keli-kottu'. An hour later the curtain will appear and the singers, with the accompaniment, will assemble behind the curtain. As preliminary to the opening scene there is an item called 'totayam', which is derived from the root 'tuta' to begin.

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1. Certain writers endeavour to show that Kathakali is on a par with 'Terukkuttu' of the Tamils, 'Vithinataka' of the Telugus and 'Bayalatta' of the Kanarese. The above three names practically mean the same except that in Kanarese, 'bayal' (field) takes the place of the street. They are all street plays meant for the common people to whom they are mere amusements and nothing more. In respect of Kathakali, tradition is entirely different. In the early stage we find it associated with the Kāli-cult and it was performed in temples only. The death and duel scene in Kathakali is a survival of this stage. When it was secularised, kings took charge of it, never allowing it to degenerate into the level of the street play which is not governed by definite principles.

This constitutes a prayer performed by two or three actors representing the troop. No particular verse is recited, but there are specific steps regulated by 'tala', culminating in a 'namaskār' (prostration as a mark of respect) according to the dance tradition. 'Cenda' will not form part of the accompaniment for this item.

The words 'totayam' and 'kalasam' indicate that Kathakali borrowed these terms from other varieties of the art prevalent in various parts of Southern India. 'Totayam' in Kathakali is not the same as 'totayam' in Terukkuttu in which we are told it is an invocation to God followed by a reference to the names of the author and the play. In Kathakali, there is no direct mention of either the play or the author. Even if it is conceded that one borrowed the word from the other it only means the original identity of the South Indian cultural background. When it comes to the question of borrowing it is not easy to determine the priority. The word "kalasam" also has a similar history. In Sanskrit classics it implies the end of a course of dance, while in Kathakali it means a particular style of dance which begins when the music ends. The origin of the word 'kalasam' also is not free from doubt. Dr. Gundert derives it from the Arabic word 'xalaṣa' meaning "conclusion especially in music." This meaning is particularly appropriate in Kathakali in which 'kalasam' comes only at the end of the music. Sanskrit lexicographers have not claimed this word as theirs. In any case it does not indicate any Sanskritic influence. Malabar history tells us that Arabs and Malayalis were brought into contact even from the 8th century A. D. and it is quite possible that this word like many others is the outcome of their association with the Malayalis. If at all we are to construct any theory out of these words it must have a necessary reference to the extensive influence which Malayalis wielded among the people whose lots were cast with them. In any case to build a theory based on these words, making Sanskritic traditions the main inspiration for the evolution of Kathakali art, is unjustifiable.

This is followed by Purappadu, which literally means "starting" when one actor will appear with the blowing of the conch, and other auspicious indications. This item bears some affinity with the Aṣṭapadiyattam of Jayadeva and constitutes another prayer, which, in the light of the one already performed, appears superfluous.

Probably this is a later addition. The actors dance to the tune and 'tala' of the songs sung by the Bhagavatar[1] with no attempt to express the ideas contained therein by means of gesture.

Melappadam ('mela'= beating of drums, etc., and 'padam'= song) comes next. Melappadam gives an opportunity to the drummers to exhibit their skill without any restrictions dictated by dance requirements. After this the regular play begins.

Kathakali compositions consist of 'slokas'[2] and 'padams'. The 'slokas', which are often in Sanskrit are either descriptive of or introductory to, the scene that follows. When the 'sloka' is recited the actors who are to appear have to get ready. The actors appear by slowly lowering the curtain. After the curtain is lowered or removed, the regular acting begins. The singer behind gives the clue, and the ideas contained in the song are faithfully reproduced by means of gesture to the accompaniment of dance and 'kalasams' (finishing steps of a dance). The dance intensifies the emotional appeal conveyed through acting and gesture-language. As the actors do not speak, they concentrate their attention on acting and gesture language which thereby assumes a highly finished aspect.

After the play has commenced the scenes follow one another, till the last scene which, in more than ninety percent of the cases, will be a death scene, concludes with a prayer by the leading character. Kathakali compositions are timed in such a manner that by the time the concluding prayer is begun the day also dawns.

The most striking feature of Kathakali is the technique of its gesture language. The actors do not speak but express the ideas or sentiments which they have to convey by means of an elaborate code of gestures. These have two distinctive advantages which the spoken drama lacks. The absence of speech enables the actors to concentrate on their acting and gives their features a remarkable flexibility and

1. Singer ; this appellation is originally applied to saints who used to sing in ecstasy.
2. Four footed stanzas.

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dynamic force of expression. Besides, the value of gestures, as a contributory factor to the artistic effect of the dance is immense. In other types of dance prevalent in India and elsewhere the movements of the hand are very often limited in range. Kathakali is not restricted by this kind of monotony. Gesture and steps are so combined that there is no step without a corresponding hand-pose. Both the hands and the feet of the actors are therefore equally active. Nor are the gestures in Kathakali mere substitutes for words and Kathakali is not meant to be a "dumb-show". They heighten the dramatic and suggestive appeal of the Kathakali dance.

Very often undue emphasize is given to the importance of the basic 'mudrās' (hand-poses), 24 in number, explained in works like Abhinaya Darpaṇa (Mirror of Gesture) or Hastalakṣaṇadīpikā (the Light of Hand-definition). It must be borne in mind that these 'mudrās' are like the alphabet of a language and mean not much by themselves. One 'mudrā' sometimes indicates a variety of ideas and it is confusing to read their written explanation. The importance lies in the sequence of the 'mudrās' and their combination with other 'mudrās' just as the combination of letters makes words that convey a definite meaning. For instance, take the first 'mudrā: patāka'. It changes its meaning if the position of the hand is altered. "The 'patāka' hand held vertically and motionless represents a wall, moved swiftly downwards represents cutting, held horizontally with a slight up and downward motion from the wrist represents water, held at arms length and palm upwards indicates address, held in the same way and moved to and from indicates prohibition and so forth."[1] Besides, there are local variations just like differences in dialects which are often governed by the varieties of dance mode and technique. Many 'hands' used by Kathakali actors do not conform to the description of them given by the treatises mentioned above.

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1. 'Mirror of Gesture' ; English translation by A. K. Coomaraswamy, p. 46, note 18.

Certain gestures are imitative, for instance, 'lotus' : The shape of the flower is imitated by the two hands held together making the centre hollow. The fingers on all sides resemble the petals. A creeper : The movement of the creeper in a zig-zag way is imitated by the two hands. A fish : This is shown by placing one palm over the other facing downwards and moving the thumbs on either side in a circle. This motion imitates the swimming of the fish in water.

Suggestive gestures form another class. The gestures for desire, compassion, etc., come under this category. For desire the 'mudrā' proceeds from the heart and for compassion it goes to the heart. The one goes out of our heart for an external object and the other emanates from an external object and goes to the heart.

The third variety consists of conventional gestures whose meaning we have to know beforehand. These correspond to words in the language for which there is no satisfactory derivation, They acquire a meaning out of convention. The hand for example for monkey is shown by joining the thumb and other fingers and holding it on one side.[1]

God is represented by holding the 'mukula' hand to the level of the forehead and placing the right hand over the left after a circular motion around the latter.[2]

Prominent in Kathakali are duel and death scenes. About ninety-five percent of the Kathakali plays end in death preceded by fight or duel. This reflects the ethics of war which the Nayars cultivated as an art. At the same time no performance, according to the orthodox view is complete without a love scene.

Sanskrit dramaturgy also emphasises the importance of 'śṛṅgāra' (the sentiment of love) and insists that either 'śṛṅgāra' or 'vīra' (the heroic sentiment) should be the dominant 'rasa' or sentiment in a 'nāṭaka' (play). A distinction is made between 'vipralaṃbha śṛṅgāra' which is concerned with its mental and æsthetic aspect and 'saṃbhoga śṛṅgāra' which relates to the manifestation of its physical aspect.

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1. Mirror of Gesture, p. 69.
2. Kathakali, by A. C. Krishnan Nayar, p. 63.

Some hold that 'sambhoga śṛṅgāra' should not be exhibited on the stage which should confine itself only to 'vipralambha'. It must be noted at the same time that this view prevailed only when Sanskrit dramatic criticism attained its zenith. We find however in Bhāṇa, which is a variety of Sanskrit dramatic art that love in its physical aspect is allowed full play. In Mahākāvyas it is usual to devote one chapter to the description of 'sambhoga śṛṅgāra' in its minutest details, while in the Sandeśakāvyas we find a blending of both 'vipralambha' and 'sambhoga'.

Among the Daśarūpakas (ten varieties of dramatic art) only in Nāṭaka, which is the most perfect form of Sanskrit dramatic art, the exhibition of the physical aspect of love is forbidden. In all others it is given a pre-eminent place.

Costume and make-up in Kathakali. The costume of the characters is the same for all from the waist down. Their differences are most notice-able in the make-up of the face and in the head-gear. The people of Malabar are simple in their dress and they have very little in the way of bodily decorations as they prefer natural to artificial beauty. A piece of muslin tied round the waist coming down to the ankles in the case of royalty and aristocracy and down to the knees in the case of average people and another piece with a thin border thrown across the shoulders, which is looked upon as an 'aristocratic' luxury, constitute the home dress of the people. The upper part of the body is not covered in the case of the men, but invariably in that of women of status. Ceremonial dress is however different and presents varieties and distinctions.

The idea that the characters introduced in the plays are not human beings and that they must be set in a different atmosphere from that with which we are familiar was responsible for devising a special code of dress for them. Kathakali costume is deliberately meant to be non-human.

The make-up of the characters differs according to their dominant qualities. They may generally be classified according to 'sattva', 'rajas' and 'tamas', as virtuous, heroic and demoniac and there are three main varieties of make-up designed to suit them.

'Pacca' (green) takes its name from the green paint of the face. The border line of the painted 'mask' is marked by a thick white

coating. The eyes are painted black and the lips red. This takes two or three hours to finish, the whole paint being allowed to dry before the actor dresses for the stage. The actors lie on their back and the painters sit close to their head to paint their faces. Generally a troop will have at least three such expert painters.

A red coat with yellow bangles to hold the sleeves tight, a headgear, necklaces, garlands in cloth with mirrors at the ends complete the outfit of the actor. This design generally indicates virtuous characters like benevolent kings and sometimes gods, too.

The next type of design is called 'katti' (knife). This is similar to 'pacca' with the following alterations. Instead of a uniform green paint all over the face there is a special device in the shape of a knife on either side of the nose with a white border, painted red within. There are in addition two white balls attached to the tip of the nose and the centre of the forehead which give the character a ferocious appearance suited to aggressive types like Rāvaṇa and Duryodhana who come under the 'rajas' category.

The next is 'tāṭi', which literally means 'beard', a prominent feature of this type. According to the colour of the beard they are called red, black or white. The first two are intended for demons (tāmasic characters). The painting of the red variety is very complicated. The eyes and the space around them are painted black. Then there is a white coating on which are set pieces of cork. The rest of the face is painted red and the lips black. The headgear is double the size of that worn by the 'pacca' and 'katti' types and the red coat has a thick fur.

In the black variety, the face paint, beard, coat and the lower garment are all black. The head-gear has a conical shape.

The white beard variety in this group is intended for types who are considered superior in sentiment and status. The monkey-god Hanuman is usually represented in this form. White colour according to Hindu tradition is a sign of purity and the monkey-god is a supreme example of purity and devotion. (Other monkey-heroes such as Bali and Sugrīva are however represented with a 'red-beard'). The face paint here too is highly intricate

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having a series of white curved lines over the red relief. The beard and the coat are white. The headgear is different and somewhat resembles a helmet flattened on the sides.

The sages, the Brahmins, the charioteers, and servants have not much in the way of make-up. They appear with their bare body with some characteristic features, the sages for instances wear a black or grey beard.

The make-up of the female characters is also simple. Their lower garment is copied from the ceremonial dress actually worn. They have a thin red veil covering the head and face. (Only the women of the Nambudiris and the Moplahs observe 'purdha' in Malabar. The rest of the women of Malabar have nothing to do with this custom). The veil which does not completely cover the face is probably used to keep the hair in position ; later on, it was retained as an adornment.

The "breast-plate" used by the women characters had led some to think that women were once tabooed in Kathakali and that their roles were taken invariably by men. This assumption, however, is not supported by the social conventions of Malabar or by the literary evidence in South India. I personally knew a lady[1] who died about eight years ago in my own place who used to take part in Kathakali. She gave me several instances of actresses as far as her memory could reach. Her own teacher had three women disciples. When they take part I was told they also wear the breast-plate which was therefore meant to fit in with the general design of the other items of female make-up. Tradition in Malabar or on the eastern coast of South India (Tamil area) has never excluded women from the art of acting and dancing. In the Tamil districts the professional dancer is always a woman while the teacher is a man, a fact borne out by works like 'Silappatikaram'. Sanskrit works like Abhinayadarpaṇa discuss at length the qualifications of women

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1. K. Ammani Amma.

dancers and even specify certain types of dance that can be properly performed only by women. In Malabar women take part in Kutiyattam and they have besides two exclusive varieties called Nangiyar Kuttu and Mohiniyattam. Among Nayars and Tiyyas women enjoy perfect equality with men in respect of inheritance of property and other social matters and there are instances of their having taken part even in battles.[1] There is no reason therefore to suppose that in respect of Kathakali alone they were under any restrictions. In Kathakali I know the case of a woman in Kavalappara, S. Malabar, who used to take the part of demons and demonesses and only the famous actor known as Bali Otikkan was considered to be a match for her. The comparative absence of women actors in Kathakali in modern times is to be accounted for not by the the assumption of a taboo or their inherent incapacity but by a degeneracy of the art and its patrons who once claimed even kings among them.

Orthodox people in Kerala believe that the Kathakali make-up and costume were revealed to Kottayatt Raja the well-known patron author of four Kathakali plays. It is obvious that this cannot be the fact. The story however bears testimony to the veneration and esteem in which the famous author and king was held by the people. We have it on the authority of oral tradition that at the time of Kottarakara Raja the costume, etc., of the actors was in an undeveloped stage and it was the Kottayatt Raja (N. Malabar), who first felt the need for reform not only in the external appearance of the actors but also in the timings and regulation of the performance and the structure of the Kathakali plays. It is not easy at this stage to know what exactly the reforms he effected were. The next landmark in the development of Kathakali is associated with the names of two Nambudiri patrons, Kallatikote Nambudiri (S. Malabar) and Kamplingat Nambudiri (Cochin State). They were concerned mainly with some details in the facial make-up, gestures and the method of singing to adjust it to

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1. Unniarca and Kunki are examples well known in ballads.

the dance. It is probable that they might have attempted to introduce the traditions of Kutiyattam particularly in respect of gesture and acting. The name of Vettattu Raja (Ponani, S. Malabar) is also mentioned as one of the reformers who introduced for the first time the headgear for the actors and the drum for the dance, and he is definitely the founder of the school called after his name. In addition there was another school called Kotta which is associated with some changes in the finale or Kalasam.

The latest reform is connected with the name of the Uttram Tirunal of Travancore in the first half of the last century. But this is only in minor details. One point is clear. The actors who were trained in the style of the Kallatikotan and Vettattu schools developed certain distinctive characteristics in dancing and acting combining both harmoniously while the other schools laid more stress on acting and costume than on dancing.

HAṂSA-VĀHANĀ AND MAYŪRA-VĀHANĀ SARASVATĪ

by P. K. GODE

In a recent work on Indian iconography the following remarks are made with reference to the 'vāhana' (vehicle) of Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning. "Owing to her being the consort of Brahmadeva Sarasvatī is represented in many places with the swan (haṃsa) as her 'vāhana'. But we do not find any 'vāhana' of Sarasvatī in the literary descriptions of this goddess given below".[1] We are further told that "at present the peacock (mayūra) is considered to be the 'vāhana' of Sarasvatī."

In view of the above remarks about the 'vāhana' of Sarasvatī the texts are recorded in this paper pertaining to the swan (haṃsa) as the 'vāhana' of Sarasvatī and to the peacock (mayūra) as her 'vāhana'. In the Deccan, the goddess is always represented as riding a peacock. On the Dasara day boys and girls are made to draw the picture of Sarasvatī with a peacock, on slate or on paper to mark the auspicious beginning of their education.

References to the swan and Sarasvatī are plentiful in literature. How and why did the peacock oust the swan as the 'vāhana' of Sarasvatī especially in the Deccan and also in some other parts of India ? Some references are given here to supplement Khare's remarks about

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1. 'Mūrtivijñāna' by G. H. Khare (in Marathi), B. I. S. Mandal, Poona, 1939, p. 183.

Khare has recorded a summary of these descriptions from (1) Agnipurāṇa, (2) Aṃśumad-bhedāgama, (3) Caturvargacintāmaṇi, (4) Pūrva-Kāraṇāgama, (5) Mantraratnamahodadhi, (6) Mānasāra, (7) Rūpāvatāra, (8) Rūpamaṇḍana, (9) Viṣṇudharmottara, (10) Śilparatna and (11) Skandapurāṇa.

Sarasvatī[1] and which may ultimately give an answer to the above question.

Haridas Bhattacharya in his excellent monograph on "Sarasvati, the Goddess of Learning"[2] refers to the concrete objects with which she has been associated in the course of her millennium-long history : "The swan, the lotus, the ram (or ewe or he-goat), the peacock and the lion have all served as vehicles according to tradition and locality and she has herself been worshipped in the form of a white snake and there is a reference that she was herself of the form of a swan".[3] Alice Getty refers to Sarasvati mounted on a peacock in her "Gods of Northern Buddhism" : "If painted her colour is white and her mount a peacock." This is, however, the Buddhist Sarasvatī.

In the encyclopædia 'Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra'[4] there are 13 verses on Sarasvatī but no reference to the peacock. The chronology and authorship of these verses is not recorded in this work. The last verse[5] in this group of verses is very popular in the Deccan and is daily repeated in morning and evening prayers. This verse is older than A. D. 1516 in which year a manuscript[6] of 'Dravyāvatīnighaṇṭu' was copied. In another manuscript[7] dated A. D. 1583 there is a

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1. Mūrtivijñāna, pp. 183-185.
2. K. B. Pathak Commr. Volume (B. O. R. Institute Poona, 1934), pp. 32-52.
3. Ibid., p. 50.
4. Compiled by Parab and Panshikar, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1911, p. 3.
5. This verse reads as follows :

"या कुन्दे न्दुतुषारहारधवला या शुभ्रवस्त्रावृता
या वीणावरदण्डमण्डितकरा या श्वेततपद्मासना ।
या ब्रह्माऽच्युतशंकरप्रभृतिभिर्दे वैः सदा वन्दिता
सा मां पातु सरस्वती भगवती निःशेषजाड्यापहा ॥१३॥"

6. Manuscript No. 1054 of 1886-92 (B. O. R. Institute, Poona) dated Saṃvat 1572=A. D. 1516. Folio 1. Variants :

शुभ्रवस्त्रावृता (manuscript reads श्वेतवस्त्राशना) ; श्वेततपद्मासना
(manuscript सुभ्रवस्त्रावृता) ; ब्रह्मास्तुति (manuscript ब्रह्मास्तुति)

7. Manuscript No. 179 of 1879-80. (Ekanāthabhaṭṭa's Comm. on Kirātārjunīya).

coloured picture of Sarasvatī mounted on a 'haṃsa' or swan on the first folio where the author bows to the goddess in the following verse :

"सरस्वतीं तां सितपङ्कजकीरौ
वीणां च पुस्तं च करे दधानां ।
तरंगितक्षीरपयोधिवीचितुल्ये
क्षौमे वसानां शरणं प्रपद्ये ॥ ३ ॥"

Though the picture represents Sarasvatī as riding a swan the verse makes no mention of it.

The Muslim historian Sikandar-bin-Muhammad composed his history of Gujarat, the 'Mirāt-ī-Sikandarī[1] in A. D. 1613. This historian while narrating the events and anecdotes about the reign of Muzaffer II[2] (A. D. 1511-1526) devotes a page[3] to the account of the part of Sarasvatī played by the Sultan's favourite dancer, Bai Champā, and in this connection refers to "the swan, which (according to Hindu mythology) is the bird on which Sarasvatī is said to ride". No reference to the peacock is found in this description of Sarasvatī.[4]

A Jaina author, Nemidatta, composed a book of narratives called 'Ārādhanā-kathā-kośa about A. D. 1530. He mentions the peacock as the vehicle of Sarasvatī or Bhāratī in the following verse :

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1. 'Bibliography of Mughal India', by Sri Ram Sharma, p. 68 ; K. P. House, Bombay, 1939.

2. 'Mirāt-ī-Sikandarī', English transl., page 130.

3. Sikandar states that this Sultan was a "great critic and connoisseur of music, and had a pleasant voice......in his youth he said to some masters of this art who were assembled before him "Is there any dancing girl in the present day who could act the part of Sarasvatī ?"......The musicians replied "Peace be on the king, the personification of Sarasvatī is extremely difficult. No one except Bai Champā, dancer of the Sultan, can take this part for she is peerless of her age in these arts".

4. Ibid. "Now it is written in the books of the Hindus that a poetess of pleasant voice and unique sweetness of accent and modulation of voice, who is at the same time perfect as a former of all sorts of instrumental music and an accomplished dancer could only be made by the favour of Sarasvatī." I am not aware of the specific books of the Hindus from which Sikandar is drawing the above information regarding Sarasvatī. The interest of the Sultan in Sarasvatī is, however, noteworthy. Mahamad Begada (A. D. 1458-1511), the predecessor of the above Sultan had a Hindu court-poet, Udayarāja, who composed a poem called 'Rājavinoda', the first canto of which is a dialogue between Brahmā and Sarasvatī (See p. 102, Bombay Univ. Journal, September 1940).

"श्रीमच्चारुमयूरवाहनपरा पद्मासना निर्मला
मिथ्याध्वान्तभरप्रणाशविलसत्स्त्रस्तप्रभामासुरा ।
भव्यांभोद वनप्रमोद जननी सन्मार्गसंदर्शिनी
देवेन्द्रादिसमर्चिता जिनपते जीयात्सतां भारती ॥६८॥"

This verse occurs on folio 123 b of the manuscript of the 'Ārādhanā-kathā-kośā' at the B. O. R. Institute (No. 705 of 1875-76). Nemidatta composed another work called 'Śrīpālacarita' in A. D. 1528, so this reference to 'mayūravāhanā' Sarasvatī has a definite chronology."[1]

M. R. Majumdar describes a picture of Sarasvatī in an illustrated manuscript of the 'Gītagovinda' belonging to the 15th century.[2] In this picture the swan is shown at the feet of the goddess. A similar painting of this goddess has been noticed by W. N. Brown in his 'Story of Kālaka' (plate 4, fig. 12, facing p. 122). "The goddess bears in her upper left hand the 'vīṇā'......in the lower right the rosary and a 'kamaṇḍalu'. Before her is a swan. This picture belongs to the late 15th or early 16th century."

Prof. Brown in the same book gives some pictures from a palm-leaf manuscript dated A. D. 1127 (Saṃvat 1184)[3] and describes a picture of Sarasvatī (Pl. 1, Fig. 2) as : "Goddess Sarasvatī (or Cakreśvarī ?). The central figure is a four-armed goddess bearing in her upper hands lotuses and in her lower hands a rosary and a manuscript. Before her is a swan. The attributes and the swan as vehicles are characteristic of Sarasvatī, who with the Jainas is the Śāsanadevī (tutelary deity) of Mahāvīra (cf. Glasenapp, 'Der Jainismus', pl. 27, 1925) presumably illustrated in Fig. 1. However, a Jain monk identified the goddess for me as Cakreśvarī who is the Śāsanadevī of the 1st Tīrthakara."

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1. Winternitz : History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, p. 544, (Calcutta); and pp. 123, 435 of Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84.

2. Bombay University Journal, Vol. VI, Pt. VI. 'A 15th century Gītagovinda manuscript with Gujarāti paintings'; Plate IV (folio 1) gives the figure of a four-armed goddess. She holds in the upper right hand a book, with flowers strewn over it and a 'kamaṇḍalu' in the lower; the upper left hand holds the 'vīṇā', the lower one a lotus stalk. At her feet is a swan (haṃsa).

3. 'Kālakācāryakathā'. (1933). p. 116.

In Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī I, 35 (A. D. 1148) the goddess Sarasvatī in the form of a swan is referred to as follows :[1] "There the goddess Sarasvatī herself is seen in the form of a swan in a lake situated on the summit of the Bheda hill (Bheḍagiri) which is sanctified by the Gaṅgā source (gaṅgodbheda)."

Kalhaṇa's reference to "Sarasvatī in the form of a swan" shows the close association of the goddess with the swan as also with the 'saras' or lake after which the goddess received her appellation "Sarasvatī". It seems therefore, that the swan as a vehicle of this river goddess may be the older in the course of her age-long history.

Numismatic evidence regarding the 'vāhana' of Sarasvatī has been produced by J. N. Banerjea. In the "image of the goddess Lakṣmī" on a gold coin[2] of the Gupta style and fabric in the Indian Museum, Calcutta and dating from the 6th or 7th century A. D., Allan describes the reverse device of the coin as "Goddess Lakṣmī nimbate, standing left, holding lotus in outstretched right hand, behind her a lotus plant and at her feet a 'haṃsa' (peacock, according to Smith). Jitendra Nath Banerjea[3] states that "the 'haṃsa' at the feet of the figure would justify us in identifying her as Sarasvatī, the counterpart of Lakṣmī." If Banerjea's remarks are correct we have in the above coin numismatic evidence of the 6th or 7th century about Sarasvatī with 'haṃsa' at her feet, which we find corroborated by pictures of the 12th century described by W. N. Brown in his volume on the Kālakācāryakathā referred to already in this paper.

In the Brahmanical sculptures[4] of the Kuṣāṇa period we find along

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1. Transl. by Sir A. Stein, Vol. I, p. 8 (1900), see also Vol. II, p. 274, Appendices, Note A, where Sarasvatī is said to appear in the form of a flamingo (rājahaṃsī) and p. 278 where "haṃsa-vāgīśvarī" of the 'Gaṅgodbhedamāhātmya' is referred to.

2. The coin was discovered at Mahmudpur (Jessore Dist. Bengal); Allan, 'Catalogue of Gupta Coins in the British Museum', p. 150, plate XXIV. 5. Regarding three varieties of the Lakṣmī type, etc., see Coomaraswamy, Eastern Art, Vol. 1 p. 178.

3. Ind. Hist. Quarterly, XIV, No. 2 (June 1938) p. 307.

4. On pp. 18-56 of the Journal of the U. P. Histor. Society, Vol. V. Part 1, January 1932, D. B. Diskalkar mentions the images of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, Sūrya, Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya, Sarasvatī, Gajalakṣmī, Pārvatī, Durgā and Mahiṣāsuramardinī and observes that from the point of artistic technique these images belong to an "early age".

with other images the image of Sarasvatī of an early age. I have no means of examining this image at present with a view to determine the 'vāhana' of this image.

In the 14th century, Vidyāraṇya founded the 'temple of wisdom' at Śṛṅgeri and installed a Śāradā image there. In the reproduction[1] of this image no 'vāhana' of this goddess can be seen.

B. C. Bhattacharya in his work on Jaina Iconography[2] deals with the iconography of Śrutadevī and Vidyādevī of the Jainas. He makes the following remarks about the goddess Sarasvatī or Śrutadevī :

"This goddess as viewed by the Śvetāmbaras rides a swan, has four hands bearing a lotus or 'varada', book and rosary. The Digambara texts seem to give the vehicle of a peacock to Sarasvatī."[3]

"The substitute of a peacock for the swan as made by the Digambara sect agrees with the conception of Sarasvatī, who is also the river goddess of Brahmanism."

Speaking of Prajñapti, Bhattacharya observes : "In her Śvetāmbara aspect she rides on a peacock and holds a lotus and a 'śakti."[4]

"The Yakṣiṇī of Śambhavanātha has borrowed the vehicle 'peacock' from Yakṣa Trimukha, Prajñapti's husband. The peacock symbol with lotus should be Vidyādevī's characteristic."[5]

"The Digambara text makes her (Puruṣadattā) ride a peacock."[6]

"The Digambara conception of Mahāmānasī either as Yakṣiṇī or Vidyādevī has symbols such as peacock, swan, rosary, etc."[7]

The foregoing remarks of Mr. Bhattacharya based on textual evidence raise the question : Can we suppose that the 'mayūravāhana'

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1. Bhaktakusumāñjali (Srirangam), p. 23. XII, Vidyātīrtha and Śṛṅgeri. The image of Śāradā faces p. 105 of the Sanskrit section with the title "श्रीशारदाम्बा, शृङ्गगिरि:"
2. Publ. by Motilal Banarsidas, Lahore, 1939, p. 163 ff.
3. "वाग्वादिनि भगवति सरस्वति श्रीं नम इत्यनेन मूलमन्त्रेण वेष्टयेत् । — — — ॐ ह्रीं मयूरवाहिन्यै नम: इति वागधिदेवतां स्थापयेत् ।"
   <div align="right">Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra</div>
4. 'Ācāradinakara' (Rāmghāṭ manuscript) "शक्तिसरोरुहहस्ता मयूरकृतयानमनीलया", etc.
5. Ibid., p. 167.
6. Ibid., p. 170.
7. Ibid., p. 177.

Sarasvatī now current in the Deccan and other places has been the result of the influence of Jaina iconography on the Brahmanical iconography of Sarasvatī ?[1] It is possible that owing to Digambara influence the 'haṃsavāhanā' Sarasvatī of the Brahmanical pantheon has been substituted by the 'mayūra-vāhanā' Sarasvatī at a late stage of Brahmanical iconography.

Some further evidence about 'mayūravāhanā' Sarasvatī from dated Jaina sources is recorded below.

In a Jaina work, 'Stuti-Caturviṃśatikā'[2] by Śobhana[3] of the 10th century A. D. the following extract regarding the goddes Bhāratī occurs :

भारत्याः संकीर्तनाः

"भारति ! द्राग् जिनेन्द्राणां नवनौरक्षतारिके ।
संसाराम्भोनिधावस्मान्, अवनौ रक्ष तारिके ॥५६॥"

In Kapadia's edition of Śobhana's work published at Surat there is a coloured plate in which the goddess Prajñapti is shown seated on a peacock with the following quotation from the Nirvāṇakalikā of a Jaina author Pādaliptasūri :

निर्वाणकलिकायाम्ः

"प्रज्ञप्ति श्वेतवर्णां, मयूरवाहनां, चतुर्भुजां,
वरदशक्तियुक्तदक्षिणकरां, मातुलिङ्गशक्तियुक्तवामहस्तां, चेति" (p. 184)

Śobhana refers to the goddess Prajñapti as 'Kekisthā' or seated on a peacock in the following lines (p. 185) :

श्रीप्रज्ञप्तिदेव्याः स्तुतिः

"केकिस्था वः क्रियाच्छक्ति-करा लाभानयाचिता ।
प्रज्ञप्तिनृ तमाम्भोज-करालाभानयाचिता ॥६०॥१५॥"

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1. A. D. Pusalkar, of the Bhāratīya Vidyābhavan, Bombay, has directed my attention to the following remarks by S. C. Seal regarding Sarasvatī :

"Generally we notice 'haṃsa' as the 'vāhana' of Sarasvatī but in some place we find the peacock also as her vehicle. In Rajputana they have images of this type. According to Cunningham the crocodiles in the Ganges, the tortoises in the river Jamunā and the peacocks on the banks of the river Sarasvatī, owing to their preponderance, have been responsible for the vehicles, crocodile, tortoise and peacock for (1) Gaṅgā, (2) Jamunā and (3) Sarasvatī respectively." Vide p. 99 of 'Prācīna Bhārata' (in Hindi), Vol. I, Part II, 1941.

2. Ed. by H. R. Kapadia, Surat, 1926 (Agamodaya Samiti series N. 52) p. 184.

3. Śobhana was the brother of Dhanapāla whose date is 972 A. D., see Winternitz 'History of Indian Literature' (German ed.) Vol. III, p. 415.

Śobhana's brother Dhanapāla (A. D. 972) comments[1] on the above verse :

"केकिस्येति ! केकिस्था मयूरस्थिता यः युष्माकम्" etc.

In the present paper I have confined myself to the dated literary sources[2] regarding the 'haṃsa-vāhanā' and 'mayūra-vāhanā' Sarasvatī but a study of the sculptures of this goddess in the different parts of India would throw more light on the iconography of this goddess, especially if we could determine the exact age to which these sculptures belong.

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1. Another commentary called 'Avacūri' explains Śobhana's verse :
    "केकिनि मयूरे तिष्ठति इति केकिस्था" etc.
    Prof. Kapadia quotes the following verse in his Gujarati explanation of Śobhana's verse :
    "अतिसरोरुहहस्ता मयूरकृतयानलीलया कलिता ।
    प्रग्रहिर्वि नमि', गृणोत न: कमलपवाभा ॥"
    This verse is quoted by Bhattacharya in his 'Jaina Iconography' from a work called 'Ācāradinakara'.

2.	Haṃsa-vāhanā S. (HVS)	Chronology	Mayūra-vāhanās. (MVS)
	Evidence of a coin with HVS (according to J. N. Banerjea).	6th or 7th century	Evidence of a coin with the image of Lakṣmī with a peacock (according to Smith).
		c. 972	Śobhana's reference to MVS (repeated by his commentators).
	Picture HVS on a palm leaf MS.	1127	
	Kalhaṇa's reference to Sarasvatī in the form of a swan (haṃsa) on Bheḍagiri.	1148	
	Picture of HVS in a Gīta-govinda MS.	1400-1500	
	Part of HVS played by Bai Champā, a Court dancer of Muzaffer II of Gujarat.	1511-1526	
		1530	Nemidatta refers to HVS
	Picture of HVS in a B.O.R.I. MS.	1583	
	'Mirāt-ī-Sikandari' refers to HVS.	1613	

PADMINĪ-VIDYĀ

by J. N. BANERJEA

In the course of his exploratory tours in Central India in the seventies of the last century, Cunnningham found among others two very interesting sculptures at Besnagar, lying close to each other.[1] The first has been described by him as the ancient capital of a column, in the shape of 'the famous Kalpa-drum or "fortunate tree" of the Devaloka, which fulfilled all one's desires'.[2] The upper part of the tree has a diameter of 3′3″, its lower part being 2′2¾″. The mass of trunks and pendent roots rise from a cylindrical neck of basketwork which has as its base the abacus of the capital ; the full height of the whole capital including its abacus is nearly 5′8″. It will be necessary to note Cunningham's description of the whole piece at some length, for the purpose of understanding its true character. He observes that "in the Besnagar sculpture it (the Kalpa-drum) is represented as a banyan tree with long pendent roots, from which untold wealth in the shape of square pieces of money[3] is dropping in such quantities that all the vessels placed below are full and overflowing. The upper part of the tree, which is nearly spherical in shape, is covered with the large leaves and small berries of the Ficus Indica, and the stems and pendent roots are represented on a cylindrical neck, below which they divide into eight

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1. Both the sculptures are now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.
2. 'A. S. R.', Vol. X, p. 43. Cunningham says : "The common people give the name of Kalpa-drum or Kalpa-briksh to a large forest tree with a smooth silvery bark ; but the true Kalpa-drum, which is supposed to grant all one's desires, is the tree of Indra's heaven, and was one of the products of the churning of the ocean".
3. The pieces are not all square, some are round, while a few others are oblong in shape.

compartments. In these are placed alternately four vessels full of money and four skins full of wine (?). These last may, perhaps, be intended for bags of money, as each is fastened with a band round the neck. The open vessels are all different. One is a large shell standing on its end ; a second is a full-blown lotus flower ; a third is a 'lotā', or common water-vessel". The conch-shell and the lotus flower exuding coins have correctly been identified by Coomaraswamy with the two of the 'nidhis' of Kubera, viz., 'śankha' and 'padma.[1] Coomaraswamy, however, did not take into account the number of objects coming down from the branches of the banyan tree,—which is eight, four bags with their necks tied round by strings showing that they contain wealth, and four open vessels overflowing with treasure. It may justifiably be suggested that here we have the earliest sculptural representation of the 'aṣṭanidhis' the eight treasures of Kubera, the well-recognised god of wealth and prosperity. The 'aṣṭanidhis' are enumerated in comparatively early texts like the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa (ch. 68, v. 5), in the following manner : 'Yatra padmamahāpadmau tathā makarakacchapau / mukundo nandakaścaiva nīlaḥ śankho'ṣṭamo nidhiḥ //. Coomaraswamy, in his 'Yakṣas', Pt. II, enumerates 9 treasures of Kubera, 'padma, mahāpadma, śankha, makara, kacchapa, mukunda, nanda, nīla' and 'kharva' which are nearly all water-symbols according to him. But the list of 9 'nidhis' is generally to be found in comparatively late texts and even there it differs in different texts. Coomaraswamy's list partially agrees with the one quoted in the 'Śabdakalpadruma' from 'Hārāvalī', the names of the last three being put in there as 'kunda, nīla' and 'varcca.' 'Kunda' may be a mistake for 'nanda', and 'varcca' or 'kharva' are evidently later additions ; for the same lexicon quotes from Bharata : 'Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇe tu varcca iti hitvā aṣṭāveva uktāḥ'. That the number of the 'nidhis' or treasures of Kubera was originally eight is fully proved by the mediaeval representations of Jambhala, his Buddhist counterpart. These sometimes depict the god seated on a couch beneath which is a row of 'eight' treasure jars, on the upturned one of which

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1. Coomaraswamy, 'Yakṣas', pt. II. p. 72, pl. I.

exuding coins, the god's right leg is placed. In the Besnagar sculpture, two of the 'nidhis', whose character is easily recognisable, 'śaṅkha' and 'padma' are alone presented in their original form with untold wealth coming out from them, while the others are symbolised by means of bags and vessels full of wealth.[1]

The banyan capital—it might or might not have represented the Kalpa-druma at all[2]—which is usually dated in the 3rd century B. C. (if not earlier), was probably placed, according to Coomaraswamy on the top of a column standing in front of a shrine of Kubera-Vaiśravaṇa, whose special cognisance is a bag or a vase full of coins. But it might as well have faced a shrine of Śrī, the goddess of fortune whose association with Kubera and the eight treasures is also very intimate. In fact, the same chapter of the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa, from which the names of the eight 'nidhis' have been quoted lays down that Lakṣmī is the presiding deity of 'padmini-vidyā', whose receptacles, as it were, are the eight 'nidhis' (padminī nāma yā vidyā lakṣmīstasyāśca devatā / tadādhāraśca nidhayaḥ......). Mārkaṇḍeya, when asked by Krostuki about the nature of the Padminī-vidyā which is productive of earthly enjoyment (bhogopapādikā) land which has for its bases the treasures (tatsamśrayā ye nidhayaḥ), answers that it is only attainable by good men due to divine grace and their own service to the 'sādhus' (devatānām prasādena sādhusamsevanena ca). Mārkaṇḍeya expatiates upon the real nature of each of these 'nidhis' and says in the end, 'Oh twice-born one ! this goddess Śrī, the lotus maiden, presides over all these treasures' (sarvveṣāmādhipatye ca śrīreṣā dvija padminī). On the authority of this text, we can identify the

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1. It may incidentally be observed that in Indian arithmetics at present, the names of three of these 'nidhis', 'śaṅkha, padma' and 'kharvva' (the last from the second list), denote integers of huge sums.

2. The Bharhut relief which depicts a man receiving both food and drink from the two hands projecting from the trunk of a tree, in a way, symbolises the idea of a Kalpa-vṛkṣa. The two hands directly come out from the tree in bestowing the gift on the man and there is not the least justification for supposing that the hands are those of a man lying hidden behind the tree, as B. M. Barua suggested ('Bharhut' Vol. II, p. 163, Fig. 140). The hands may be of the invisible tree-spirit, but the idea about the wish-giving tree is none the less clear in the sculpture.

other sculpture from Besnagar, a colossal female statue, 6′ 7″ in height, which was found very near to the above capital by Cunningham and which was undoubtedly of the same age, as none other than Śrī, herself, who was enshrined in the locality. It has almost unanimously been described as a Yakṣiṇī, though Cunningham, at the time of its discovery, was inclined to identify it tentatively as a portrait statue of Māyā Devī. His main ground for this suggestion was that as it was profusely ornamented it could not be a religious figure. But this identification is hardly acceptable at all; the figure could not represent Māyā Devī on this ground alone, and numerous are the images of gods and goddesses, which are decorated with various types of ornaments in profusion. Both the arms of the figure are unfortunately gone; but the dressing and arrangement of the hair, the drapery and ornaments shown on the body, the standing attitude (samapādasthānaka pose), etc., are all very similar to that of the goddess Sirimā appearing on one of the Bharhut rail pillars. Cunningham, though he did not actually compare these two figures, was aware of "the similarity of the costume of the Besnagar one to that of many of the females in the Bharhut sculptures". Sirimā, however, though her hands are not in the 'añjali' pose, appears in the role of one paying homage to the Buddha, while the Besnagar goddess seems to have been an object of worship. The latter being fully in the round, her feet are shown frontally, not sideways as in the case of the other figure.[1] Both these figures conform to the early Indian concept about female beauty, characterised by a prominent bust and protuberant hips indicative of motherhood and fecundity. This is known in comparatively late texts as 'nyagrodhaparimaṇḍala' type, in which the breasts are firm and prominent, the buttocks spacious and the middle part comparatively

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1. Cunningham's remark about the Besnagar statue, "from the pose of the figure, I think that it must originally have been placed on the top of a pillar", is not at all clear. The sculpture could hardly have served the purpose of a pillar capital; there is nothing in its attitude to justify that assumption. It was almost certainly put up in some sort of a shrine, as the other 'pratimā' of Maṇibhadra, found at Pawaya, undoubtedly was.

narrow.[1] This emphasis on productivity is quite apposite in the case of the goddess Srī (Sirimā) who is the presiding deity of Padminī-vidyā which brings forth earthly enjoyment (bhogopapādikā).

Reference may now be made in this connection to the other type of the goddess Śrī which is known as Gaja-Lakṣmī, who is shown on some Basarh seals in very close association with the 'nidhis' of Kubera and his Yakṣas. The seal of the Kumārāmātyādhikaraṇa, some specimens of which were found by T. Bloch in course of his excavations at Basarh, shows Lakṣmī standing in the midst of a group of trees with two elephants pouring water over her ; two dwarfish attendants are shown by her side, holding objects like money bags. Another variety of such terracotta seals, nine specimens of which were unearthed at the same place, show Gaja-Lakṣmī with her left hand holding the stalk of a six-petalled flower, the two dwarfish attendants pouring out small objects (treasure) from round pots. A third variety again, of which as many as twelve were found, depicts Gaja-Lakṣmī as above, attended by a dwarfish male kneeling on each side with a full treasure bag in front from which he throws down small round objects which are coins. It may be noted that the shape of the bags is exactly similar to that of the several bags hanging from the so-called Kalpa-druma capital of Besnagar, noticed above. Bloch identified these dwarfish attendants of the goddess as Kubera ; but they might as well be the Yakṣas whose lord he is (Yakṣapati, Guhyakapati) and who are the custodians of wealth according to Indian tradition. Bloch remarked, 'The combination of Lakṣmī and Kubera, however, is not known to me to occur anywhere else in Indian art, and my theory should, therefore, only be regarded as hypothetical'. But, as I have fully proved above, the combination of Lakṣmī, the goddess of wealth and prosperity and the Yakṣas and their lord Kubera who are intimately associated with treasure ('nidhi') is certainly not inappropriate. In the case of the Basarh seals, the idea is that the custodians of treasure dole out

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1. 'Śabdamālā', as quoted in the 'Śabdakalpadruma' : 'Stanau sukaṭhinau yasyā nitambe ca viśālatā / madhye kṣīnā bhaved yā sā nyagrodhaparimaṇḍalā'.

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riches to those who are specially favoured by the goddess, or in other words, who, due to their own meritorious actions and to the divine grace, are the enviable possessors of the Padminī-vidyā.[1] It may be observed here that these small terra-cotta seals, evidently for exigencies of space, show only two of the 'nidhis' which could very well serve as the representatives of the full quota of eight.

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1. For the Basarh seals and Bloch's description of them, cf. 'Ann. Rep., Arch. Surv. of India', 1903-04, pp. 107ff., Pls. XL and XLI.

A CANDRAŚEKHARA ŚIVA IMAGE

by KALIDAS DATTA

A copper image of Candraśekhara Śiva was unearthed by a farmer in Jaynagar, 24 Parganas. It measures about 7 inches in height and represents Śiva standing in 'samabhaṅga' pose on a full blown lotus resting on a rectangular pedestal. The right hand is broken. It was most probably, in 'varada mudrā' as recorded in the 'dhyāna' noted below. The left shows 'abhaya mudrā'. Śiva's costume consists of a tiger skin through which the 'ūrdhva liṅga' is visible. He wears 'jaṭā mukuṭa, kuṇḍala', necklace, a pair of bracelets as well as a pair of armlets. A snake serves as his sacred thread. The hood of it is shown above his right shoulder and the lower portion of its body is seen below his waist. The upper part of the body of the snake, which adorned his chest, is missing.

On the 'jaṭā mukuṭa' (matted hair), is a crescent, the cognizance of Candraśekhara Śiva. Two locks fall on his shoulders.

There is a small image of Nandī in front of the pedestal, and a 'triśūla' (trident) on the left side of the frame behind the image. It looks as if it is pitched on the ground. The halo at the back of the image is of oval shape with decorated borders. The upper part is missing. It rests on a frame fixed behind the image. This kind of frame is found in low relief, on the back of many early Pāla sculptures.

No other metal image of Candraśekhara Śiva has yet been discovered in Bengal. In South India, bronze images of this form of

Śiva have come to light but they are of a different type and belong to later periods.[1]

The 'dhyāna' of an image of this kind of Candraśekhara Śiva is recorded in the Durgapūjā-paddhati of the Nandikeśvara Purāṇa :

"Jaṭāmukuṭa-maṇḍitaṃ candraśekharaṃ dvibhūjam ūrdhvaliṅgaṃ yoginīgaṇanāyakaṃ nāgopavītaṃ varābhayakaraṃ prasannavadanam."

The Kāśyapīya has laid down three distinct forms of this type of image. They are known as : 1. Kevalam (single figure). 2. Gaurī-sahitam (with Gauri). 3. Kṛtāliṅgam (in embracing attitude).

The figure from the Sundarban, noticed here, belongs to the Kevalam type.

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1. O. C. Gangoly, South Indian Bronzes, Pls. XVII and XVIII.

ŚRĪMŪLASTHĀNAM

by K. R. PISHAROTI

One of the ancillary structures, associated with the more important temples in Kerala is the 'śrīmūlasthānam'. Such structures,[1] to mention a few, are in the temples at Trichur, Cottanikkara, Urakam etc ; and they are treated with as much veneration as the main shrine itself. Popular view has it that the 'śrīmūlasthānam' was the site where the deity found its first resting place ; and on the basis of this view, it is also sometimes held that the deity in the major shrine is an immigrant to Kerala.

The standard treatises[2] on temple architecture in our land have nothing to say about this structure. The 'Ratnāvali'[3], a Tāntric text, throws some light on 'śrīmūlasthānam'. The idea of the extract may be set forth as follows :

"When a 'mahāprasāda' is to be built in a village, city or town, the first thing to be done is to construct what is termed a 'taruṇālaya' or 'bālālaya.[4] The building of the main shrine after the construction of the 'taruṇālaya', it is held, ensures prosperity.[5] The deity for whom

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1. Such shrines are generally situated outside, beyond the circumambulatory structures running all round the central shrine, i. e. the 'Śri Koyil'. The one at Cottanikkara stands in the south-west of the main shrine.

2. Compare for instance such texts as 'Tantrasamuccaya', 'Mayamata', 'Prayogamañjari', Śilpiratna, etc.

3. This is a Tāntric treatise in prose of the nature of a compilation from varied sources on the subject, evidently intended as handy manual for the practising 'Tantrī'. It is assumed to be the work of Parāśara, an author mentioned in the 'Manuṣyālayacandrikā'.

4. Compare the text : 'grāme nagare vā pattanepi vānyatra vā mahāvimānāt pūrvaṃ taruṇālayaṃ kalpayet'.

5. 'Paścāt kṛtam ṛddhikaraṃ bhavati mahāvimānam'.

the main structure is intended must be invoked and installed in the 'taruṇālaya' and then with 'his' permission the construction of the main structure must be begun.[1] The 'taruṇālaya' must be a 'kūṭa' in form,[2] five or seven 'hastas' in extent and square in shape.[3] When the main structure is finished and the image ready to be installed, the deity already invoked and installed in the 'taruṇālaya' must be revoked therefrom into a pot and then joined to the idol set up in the major shrine.[4]

Thus the 'taruṇālaya' forms the first place of residence for the deity enshrined in the main temple.[5] The temple is the palace of the Godhead—'the place wherefrom He dispenses grace to all devotees'.[6] Hence the idea underlying the 'taruṇālaya' and the installation of the deity there for whom the main temple is intended is to get the temple built under the deity's own superintendence.

The 'taruṇālaya' here mentioned is identical with the 'śrīmūlasthāna', familiar in Kerala temples. The deities in such temples as have a 'śrīmūlasthāna' need not necessarily be immigrants to our land. If at all the presence of such ancillary structures shows anything, it is that the temple came into existence after the development of Tāntric ritual.[7]

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1. 'Tasmādaiśvaryakāmaiḥ prathamālayaṃ kartavyam / devaṃ tatraiva saṃsthāpya prāsādam-arabhet'.

2. 'Taruṇālayaṃ kūṭakāraṃ kāryam'.

3. 'Tadgṛhaṃ pañcahastaṃ saptahastaṃ caturaśram...kuryāt'.

4. 'Samyak kṛte vimāne pratimāyaṃ kalpitāyāṃ taruṇālayagataṃ devaṃ saṃpūjya kumbhe cāvāhya mūlārccāyāṃ niyojayet'.

5. 'Evaṃ bālasthānaṃ kalpayitvā tatra devaṃ pratiṣṭhāpya taṃ prārthayitvā mūlavimānamarabhet'.

6. 'Prāsādam yasmāt kurute tatrastho bhagavān tasmāt prāsādaḥ'. This is indeed a very ingenious derivation.

7. We have no information of the existence of such subsidiary structures in temples elsewhere. If there be such, it will be interesting to find out if this explanation of their origin will be tenable.

ĪSĀNASIVAGURUDEVAPADDHATI
KRIYĀPĀDA CHS. XXVI, XXVII

by ST. KRAMRISCH

The rites which precede the building of a temple are fully described in chapters XXVI and XXVII of Pt. III, Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati.[1] In this work are embodied the teachings of a long line of Saiddhāntikas who were very influential all over India during the ninth to eleventh centuries and later. Their monasteries were originally in Gwalior State. A local chief, of the ninth century, Avantivarman, became a disciple of Purandara, and gave his capital city Mattamayūra to his Guru as his 'dakṣiṇā'. There the Guru built a great monastery which was followed by the building of another 'maṭha' at Raṇipadra, also in Gwalior. One of the Munis went from there to Gorāṭika . maṭha in Dhārā. To this branch belongs Īśānaśiva the author of the present text. Prabhāvaśiva, third from Purandara in the genealogy of Gurus was called by Yuvarāja-deva I. to the Cedi country. There his disciple, Praśāntaśiva built monasteries and temples, among them the circular temple of Śiva at Candrehe and another temple at Gurgi. This is commemorated in the Candrehe inscription of 972-73 A. D. and the Gurgi inscription by his disciple Prabodhaśiva who added further structures at these monastic centres. The Mattamayūra Vaṁśa was established all over central India from the west coast to the borders of Magadha.[2] The precepts laid down in the Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati coincide in time and place with the large number of temples built then and there. Some of them stand to this day.

Brahmaśambhu who belonged to a branch of this line and lived

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1. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. LXXVII, vol. III.
2. Ep. Ind. I. pp. 251, 354; III. p. 297; XXI. p. 149; XXII. p. 127; XXIV. p. 241; Mem. A. S. I., No. 23, pp. 110-115; also Haraprasād Śāstri, preface to Vol. II, Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati.

in the middle of the tenth century is quoted in the present text. Other authorities are also quoted (the 'Mañjarī' ; 'Viśvakarmīya'). 'Pratiṣṭhā-darpaṇa' was written by a disciple of Īśānaśiva and another work on 'Pratiṣṭhā' was written in Benares in the eleventh century.[1]

The continuity within one tradition receives amplification by other traditions which have not less authority. Some of these give but variations of the same theme ; others are the result of a confluence from different sources. They will be referred to with regard to the Vāstupuruṣa, his legend, aspect and meaning (pp. 175-193).

Before going into the details of time and place proper for the building of a temple (verses 5-50), the Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati, ch. XXVI, 3cd-4, says :

"In a temple (prāsāda) and liṅgam endowed with auspicious marks, established with the rites of ploughing, etc., and installed in the proper way in a special locality and time, Śiva is present for the welfare of the maker."

After ending the section on time and place the text which is translated here, continues as follows :

Paṭala XXVI.

51-53. The 'yajamāna',[2] a man of good qualities and of means in crops and wealth, and pure, for his earnings are lawful, who wants to instal a liṅga should select for the installation on a favourable day a preceptor (ācārya), pure in heart and conforming with the description given already and should honour him with gold, cloth, perfumes, garlands, and fruits.

54-55. He should seat him in a temple, or on a charming river-side along with Sādhakas or Dīkṣitas who have the prescribed qualifications and along with eight pure, 'mūrtidhara' Brahmans and should worship him with mantras [and the rites] beginning with the offering of water for washing the feet and ending with offering incense.[3]

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1. Ibid., preface.

2. The 'yajamāna' (sacrificer) is the donor of the temple. The guru or 'ācārya' performs the sacrificial acts for him. These include the rites which precede the building of the temple.

3. The 'mūrtidharas' 'hold' or represent the eight 'mūrtis' (manifestations) of Śiva (XXVI, 66-67; cf. 'Matsyapurāṇa', ch. 265).—The 'sādhakas' and 'ācāryas' are qualified to perform 'nitya' and 'naimittika' rites (XVI. 12); the 'samayācāras' are common to 'sādhakadīkṣā' and 'nirvāṇadīkṣā' (XIX. p. 189). Acc. to T. A. Gopinath Rao, E. H. I, II. vol. I. p. 15, the 'sādhakas' are qualified to perform the daily observances, etc., the 'ācāryas' to perform initiation (dīkṣā) and the consecration (pratiṣṭhā) of images, and other 'naimittika' rites in addition to the daily observances.

In the Mañjarī (it is said) :

(1)[1] After having consecrated and worshipped in due order the eight manifestations and their presiding divinities (mūrti-pa) with these mantras preceded by obeisances one should please them by (offering) cloths, ornaments, and so on.

56. Om. The earth supports the people, the people are thought of to be of earth ; the intrinsic form (rūpa) of earth is everywhere ; homage to thee, O earth (Pṛthvī-mūrti).

57. Om. Fire sustains the world ; the world is thought of to be of fire ; the intrinsic form of fire is everywhere ; homage to thee, O fire (Agni-mūrti).

58. Om. The Self (ātman) worships (sacrifices) with sacrifices; the world is thought of to be of sacrifices. The intrinsic form of the sacrifice is everywhere ; homage to thee, O sacrifice (Yajña-mūrti).[2]

59. Om. The sun sustains the world ; the world is thought of to be of the sun ; the intrinsic form of the sun is everywhere ; homage to thee, O sun (Sūrya-mūrti).

60. Om. Water supports the world ; the world is thought of to be of water ; the intrinsic form of water is everywhere ; homage to thee, O water (Jala-mūrti).

61. Om. Air sustains the world, the world is thought of to be of air ; the intrinsic form of air is everywhere ; homage to thee, O air (Vāyu-mūrti).

62. Om. The moon (Soma) sustains the world, the world is thought of to be of Soma ; the intrinsic form of Soma is everywhere ; homage to thee, O Soma-mūrti.

63. Om. The atmosphere sustains the world, the world is thought of to be of atmosphere ; the intrinsic form of the atmosphere is every-where ; homage to thee, O Vyoma-mūrti.[3]

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1. In the following translation of the text, the numbers within brackets indicate quotations from different authorities, and prose-passages of the text.

2. Viṣṇu is 'yajña-mūrti' ; 'Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa', I. 2. 5. 1-6 ; 'Vṛddha Hārīta Smṛti', X, 14-18, p. 325 ; etc.

3. The actual images (mūrti) of Pṛthvī, Agni, Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Varuṇa. Vāyu, and Soma use types of human semblance as carriers and receptacles of their meaning. The image of Vyoma (atmosphere, sky, upper region) uses geometrical bodies in three parts and figures of Sūrya, the Dikpālas, etc., elsewhere (Viṣṇudharmottara III, 75 ; Bhaviṣya Purāṇa 130, 59). There 'mūrtis' are not referred to here.—The consecrated image is also a 'mūrti' or manifestation of the divinity whose presence it signifies.

64. Thus the manifestations (mūrti) of Śiva, which keep the world-'yantra' moving are said to be eight : earth, fire, the sacrificing priest, sun, water, air, moon and sky.[1]

65. The eight presiding divinities of the manifestations (mūrti-pa) are : Śarva, Rudra, Pāśupati, Īśāna, Bhava, Ugra, Mahādeva and Bhīma.

66-67. Having thus honoured with incense, flower, cloths, etc., the eight Brahmans representing the manifestations, earth and so on, and also the lords of the manifestations (mūrtīśvara), Śarva and so forth and having especially worshipped and made obeisance to the preceptor, the yajamāna should solicit them with a sincere heart :

68. "I choose you as preceptor for the installation of a Śiva-liṅga ; bless me, and also these 'mūrtidharas' should bless me."

69. The yajamāna should speak thus and then prostrate himself before them ; along with the preceptor they should say to the yajamāna : "so be it".

70. Then one should ascertain on a favourable day, etc., in the selected locality the boundary of the enclosure and take possession of it.

This is thus done :

71. Prepare to the north-east of the 'garbha'[2] of the temple (prasāda) a square shed (maṇḍapa) of four cubits, and with four pillars and a good pit.

72-73ab. Worship the [divinities of the] doors, enter within, put fire into the pit, and pour an oblation of ghee with appropriate mantras from the 'Saṃhitā' and (recite) 1000 or 100 times the 'aghorāstra' mantra.

(2). Then a lotus should be drawn in the centre, and four svastikas in the (four) quarters, in five compartments within the shed ; in these (i. e. the five compartments) five jars should be duly placed on seven kinds of grain.[3]

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1. The five 'bhūtas', the substantial elements of manifestation are, in the order of ontological production : ether (ākāśa), air (vāyu), fire (tejas), water (ap), and earth (pṛthvī). The manifestations are here invoked in inverse and irregular sequence. Vyoma stand for 'ākāśa'. The other three manifestations of Śiva are the Self (the sacrificer or priest), sun and moon. They represent the light of consciousness, and of the celestial luminaries.

2. See ch. XXVII, śl. 72-106.

3. The seven (or eight) kinds of grain are enumerated for instance in 'Mayamata' XII, 7 : 'śāli, vrīhi, kodrava, kaṅku, mudga, māṣa, kulattha, tila'.

(3). They should be filled in the proper way with water from sacred places (tīrtha), and gold, gems, incense, flower, unhusked rice (akṣata) and lauded herbs should be put into them.

(4). Their mouths should be (offered) five kinds of sprigs, 'biḷva, aśvattha', and so on, 'kuśa' and 'kūrca' grass and fruits and their necks should be decorated with cloth and garlands ;

(5). In each of these jars Śiva is to be invoked in the order of his 'aṅga (devatās)',[1] the 'mūla (devatā)[2] and 'āsana'[3] and so forth, and is to be duly worshipped. Then a maṇḍala is to be made to the north-east of these jars in the form of a lotus base. The seven kinds of grain are to be put on it.

(6). A jar (for) Śiva is duly to be placed on it, filled with water and decorated. In it also Śiva with his 'aṅga-devatās' together with his movable and immovable 'āsana' (forms)[4] should be invoked and worshipped. (The priest) should (now contemplate) Śiva who is in the fire together with his 'aṅga-devatās' as joined to the water of the jar.

(7-8). The temple (prāsāda-garbha)[5] should be sprinkled in the middle (by the priest) with the water of the jar in the north-east, and the water of the jars in the east, etc., others should sprinkle on the boundaries of the temple in the east, south, west and north.

(9). Then one should get a pit dug with a spade by an artisan ('śilpin', craftsman) facing north, in the south-east of the accepted site (vāstu).

(10). One should take the earth in baskets of bamboo and cane and throw it (off) seven times in the south-west.

(11). One should fill up the pit with the water still remaining in the jars, and bathe the digging instruments, etc., with the remaining water ; then the Śiva-jar should be lifted and placed on the head or shoulder of a Brahman who has bathed and wears a new cloth.

(12). It should be carried to the eastern limit of the enclosure

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1. The 'aṅgas' are the part aspects of Śiva, as Devatās.

2. The 'mūla' is the root or principle divinity, Śiva.

3. 'Āsana' (seat) represents Ananta which is Viṣṇu who in turn represents the Śakti of Śiva (Pt. III. Ch. V, 7-9).

4. Śiva is 'acalāsana', immovable ; Śakti is 'calāsana', movable.

5. The 'garbha' is the 'germ' and 'womb' of the temple (prāsāda); See XXVI, 72. 'Prāsāda-garbha' is used here in the sense of 'garbha-gṛha' in the 'prāsāda' to be set up.

in the presence of many people and preceded by song, music and Veda recitation and one should stay there a moment.

(13).   Then the jar should be taken round in circumambulation to the right from the south-east in proper order to the north-east.

(14).   Four pegs should be placed in the four corners of the boundary and offerings ('bali', tribute) to spirits should be scattered in all directions by a fearless man (bhūta-krūra) in the night.

(15).   Then the preceptor should induce the spirits residing there to go and reside elsewhere.

73cd-74.   Om. Let Bhūtas, Rākṣasas, Yakṣas, Piśācas, Brahma-rākṣasas, and also those other (spirits) who reside here, go elsewhere, from this place.   From to-day this place belongs to god Śūlin.[1]

(16).   Then dismiss the band of spirits with "Om haḥ huṃ phaṭ" and again scatter tribute to them as they start as the night draws towards dawn ; then the rite of ploughing should be performed in an auspicious moment.

This is thus done :

75-76.   (One should plough) with brown or white strong bulls, with (lucky) marks, with ploughs of Khadira wood[2] and yokes of Kṣīra[3] wood, and the men should be after their bath wearing new clothes and all of them should be decorated.

The preceptor should touch the plough and consecrate it with 'ajāta' ('uncreate', Vedic mantras).

77.   Then he should make them plough furrows running east, and get the seven kinds of grain sown, after reciting the Vāmadeva (mantra).

78.   Having sprinkled water reciting the Aghora mantra, he should make a shelter (for the bulls) with the Īśa mantra, and get those grains when they are ripe, eaten by the bulls.

Now it is said in the Mañjarī :

(17).   Again, after one year, one should make there a resting place for the bulls, one should again sow pulse there, etc., and paddy in the previous order.

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1.   Śiva who carries the trident.
2.   Acacia catechu.
3.   Aśvattha or pine.

(18). One should get these eaten by the animals and then in an auspicious moment one should dig and render the earth still more firm and free of 'śalyas' (extraneous matter).

Here ends the section on Ploughing.

79. The ground as far as the boundaries of the temple lie should be made even like the face of a mirror and besmeared with water mixed with cow-dung.

80-82ab. Having determined the quarters by means of a peg (gnomon) in the manner specified,[1] (the guru) should place, starting from the centre, in the eight directions from the east, according to some from the south-east, nine round pegs made of recommended strong trees like 'punnāga and 'nāga', one cubit[2] long, one-fourth of that in thickness, and honoured with incense, etc.

82cd-83. Having placed the pegs on the boundaries of the 'prasāda' the guru should evenly strike them with an iron hammer or a mace. He should not strike them either with stone or wood as that causes harm.

84. Facing east, he should strike all the eight, for the attainment of eight-fold well-being. Then an artisan (śilpin) should adequately strike the pegs with a hammer.

85-86ab. In case the peg penetrates all of a sudden or does not penetrate, there will be difficulties. One should predict success of the undertaking when the peg penetrates slowly and straight. If it breaks, gets frayed or splinters, the son (of the yajamāna) dies.

86cd-87. One should infer, if it bends to the directions, east, etc. : wealth, fear of fire, death, destruction of wealth, fear, disease, prosperity and happiness ; and increase in land if its top remains unshattered and high.

88. The cord should be lauded, (it should be) firm and even, of cotton or of hemp, or silk or of 'muñja' grass.

89. A line following the cord in the proper direction should be clearly drawn with a golden style or a silver one or with curd or with pounded 'akṣata.'

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1. Part III, Ch. XXIV.
2. 'hasta', = 24 'aṅgulas' or 1½ foot.

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90-91ab. If the yajamāna or any other who is engaged in laying the cord remains undisturbed, one should declare the ground free from extraneous substances. If itching, etc., is felt, one should declare that there are extraneous substances (śalya) [in the soil].

91cd-92ab. If he happens to see a dog, or a jackal, a sheep, a cow, a horse, etc., suddenly appear, he should declare "there is (some) extraneous matter there."

This is to be told in the following manner :

(19-24) One should infer a skull-bone in a pit two span (deep) from the scratching of the head ; if one must touch the face, a skull or a piece of wood within a depth of two cubits ; from scratching of the neck an iron chain below three cubits depth ; from (itching) at the shoulders or arms, the bones of those parts below two cubits and a half ; from (itching) at the fore-arm, a leg of a bed-stead, a skull or a bone, knee-deep ; from the touching of the waist, iron (buried) waist deep ; from (itching) at the thighs, bone or wood (buried) thigh-deep ; from (itching) at the chest and heart, bones of those parts, (buried) chest deep ; from (itching) in the knees, a pillar (buried) below a cubit's depth ; from (itching) of the shins, an implement of the hair-dresser or a shin-bone ; from (that of) the feet, a bone of an elephant ; from the toes, a small water jar or brass ; from the fingers, the hoof of a horse or bell metal under a span and a half ; and if there are mixed movements, mixed matter (śalya) (should be inferred).

(25-27). Similarly, one should tell from their crossing the cord, from their entering the field, from seeing them and from narrations about them (as follows) : From the crossing by a cat, the bone of an ass, (buried) at a similar depth, from that by a dog, a cow bone, from that by a sheep, a sheep or dog bone, from that by a horse, a buffalo bone, from that by a buffalo, a jackal bone, from that by a jackal, a hog bone, from that by a hog, a tiger bone, from that by a tiger, an elephant bone, from that by an elephant, a human bone, from that by a human being, an ass bone, and from that by an ass, a sheep bone. Ashes, chaff and char-coal should be inferred from birds entering the field.

(28-29). If temples (or) houses are built without first taking out the extraneous matter, the presence of deities will be barred from there, and evils like decline, annihilation, disease, absence from home poverty, destruction, distress, etc., will befall the maker and his family.

(30-31). They are not treated separately, as space does not permit. There are however lucky 'śalyas'; Brahmaśambhu writes on this as follows : A living fish causes gain of crops and a tortoise causes gain, a frog brings always wealth and a mouse causes righteous conduct.

And also :

92cd. One should not take away fishes, frogs, tortoises, gold, quicksilver and gems from the pit ; if taken out they cause injury.

Here ends the section on the Removal of 'śalyas'.

93. When the 'śalyas' are removed one should start the worship of Vāstu.

As to this Brahmaśambhu says :

(32). Vāstu, whose body is the 'vastu',[1] the demon born of the wrath of the preceptor of the demons (daityamantrin) is spoken of in the texts on Vāstu and also in Śiva-scriptures (āgama).

94. In former times, in the war between the gods and the Asuras the Asuras were destroyed, they were crushed by the gods with Purandara at their head, through the greatness of the power of Viṣṇu.

95. Their guru, the son of Bhṛgu, who was of an impetuous disposition became highly incensed and offered a goat with (lucky) marks as an oblation in the fire.

96. That goat became a goat-headed Asura through the [strength of his] sweat which fell into the fire as he was offering the oblation.

97. It rose covering earth and sky with its body of terrific dimensions and asked the great sage "what shall I do ?"

98, The son of Bhṛgu said to it, as it loomed (expanded) terrifically ; "expel the gods whose mind is dull, from heaven".

99. Thus spoken to, it went out and rushed at the gods threatening them with roars, and scorching, as it were, the three worlds with the flames from its mouth.

100. In fear the gods with their expelled friends approached Śambhu, the all pervading and fearless one who is decorated with ashes.

101-2. They were completely routed by their defeat by the son of

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1. 'Vastu' means : an existing thing, substance. plan ; 'vāstu' means : site-plan, dwelling place.

Bhṛgu ; Śiva their protector, ordered the fire which issued from his third eye in the shape of a spirit (bhūta), to save them : "you should burn the cruel and over-grown goat-Asura after having crushed the son of Bhṛgu."

103. Thus spoken to, the fire chased the son of Bhṛgu, without resting anywhere ; and he fled through the three worlds as he was chased.

104ab. (But) he found no refuge except (Śiva who is) 'decorated with ashes'.

104cd-105ab. Then by the power of yoga he made his body small and entered the body of Śiva through the ear, for (his) protection.

105cd-6ab. When he reached the belly of Śiva, he saw the whole universe rested (there) confidently,[1] and he took heart.

106cd-7. The three-eyed god, in his divine sight, saw him take shelter and without surprise he said to the sage with a smile : "Fear not, O Bhārgava, I am pleased with thy diplomacy.

108. "Having stayed there, you are my son ; now come out at your pleasure. I have bestowed on you the great sovereignty and supremacy among the planets.

109-110. "In these three worlds, you shall ever regulate justice and injustice, rain and drought". Saying so, the three-eyed (god) discharged him through the semen-passage. Thence he got the name Śukra (semen). Then Śukra, knowing his own desire, bowed to the Lord and submitted.

111. "Contented am I ; favoured am I ; who is more fortunate than I ; I have thus been graced with favour by the God of the gods."

112. To the Brahman Śukra, lying prostrate in salutation after saying so, the Lord, the all pervading, with the crescent moon as his crest, said, pleased : "desire another boon."

113. Śukra (now) also made the frightened goat demon prostrate himself in front of Śiva and ask for protection.

114-116. To the fallen demon lying like a stick, dejected, with his face down on the ground, he said pleased: "I grant you protection, and also the boon which is desired by you, O goat". Thus addressed by Śambhu the

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1. 'Śilparatna' VII, 11 : "He found all the 14 worlds there". The account of the 'Śilparatna' goes back to the present text.

Asura said respectfully : "May you pardon me the evil deeds perpetrated by me through ignorance so that I may through your favour dwell on earth with the concurrence of the gods. Grant me this boon.

117-18. The gods, Brahmā, and the rest should be worshipped while residing in me." Hearing this, the carrier of the trident (Śiva) said : "As you have asked me for a [thing] (vastu), a residence, as boon, your name will be Vāstupa (protector, of 'vāstu'). So be it. (Derived) from the root 'vas' meaning 'to reside', reside on earth (vasundharā) ;

119-20. And deities like Śatānanda (Brahmā), and the rest will be pleased to reside in you ; henceforth, whosoever builds a divine or human residence, to dwell on this earth, should worship you first with flowers, incense, lights and special tribute (bali).

121-2ab. You and the deities residing in your body should be worshipped in proper order. Prosperity comes to those who perform the worship of Vāstu laid down by myself and who reside in those buildings and houses.

122cd-123ab. May the temples [and palaces] (prāsāda) and the houses (bhavana), etc., which are built without performing the worship of Vāstu, and all that is done there, be demons' work.[1]"

123cd-4ab. Thus the god (Śiva) granted boons separately to Śukra and to Vāstupa, and engaged gods to reside in him ; and vanished thence.

124cd-5ab. Through the boon of the Lord, the all pervading, the place and the direction facing which the Asura was made by Śukra to prostrate himself before Śambhu, became the abode of the deities then and there.

125cd-126ab. In the same way even to-day, Vāstu lies on the earth with the head towards the direction of Īśāna (N. E.) and stretching his legs towards the south-west, with the face turned to the ground.[2]

126cd-127ab. Thus, as the boon which was desired, was obtained by Vāstospati from Śiva, so his worship is desirable while building 'vimānas'[3] of both gods and men.

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1. 'Āsura-karma' ; 'Śilparatna', VII, 26.
2. 'Śilparatna', VII, 29, adds : his hands in the N. W. and S. E. ; see p. 168 of the present text.
3. 'Vimāna' : 'proportionately measured in its parts' ; a building.

Here ends the 26th Paṭala on the Determination of time and locality, Ploughing, Removal of 'śalyas' and the Origin of Vāstu, in Śrīmad Īśānaśiva-gurudevapaddhati...... .

Paṭala XXVII.

1. Here in the 'vāstu', one should perform the worship of Vāstoṣpati and the deities resident in him, invoking their names and with the respective articles which will be enumerated, after scattering offerings (bali) according to the rule.

2. First make a square on the selected site[1] smeared with fresh cowdung and sprinkled with water ; one should divide it into eight parts and then divide it again ; thus it will be of the prescribed sixty-four squares (pada).

3. If it is divided into nine parts by drawing lines (cords) with rice powder, it makes eighty-one squares and is fit for 'prāsādas' (temples) and kings, too.[2]

4-5. Having made sixty-four squares and drawing two 'cords' through its corners, one should worship Brahmā in the centre, in four squares ; then Marīci by name ['Ray of light', one of the 10 mind-born sons of Brahmā] should be worshipped in the two eastern squares, Vivasvān [Sun] in the southern (two), Mitra [Sun] in the western, and Mahīdhara resides in the two northern squares. I now recount the gods who occupy couples of halves (of plots) in the intermediate quarters.

6. Sāvitra and Savitā should be in the south-east occupying half plots ; Indra and Indrajaya are in the south-west ; Rudra and Rudrajaya, in the north-west, and the two called Āpa and Āpavatsa in the north-east. I shall recount further the eight deities outside in the four corners and on the four sides.

7. Śarva-Skanda, the one called Aryaman, Jambhaka, Pilipiñjaka ; Carakī, Vidārī, Pūtanā and Pāparākṣasī.

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1. This square is the 'Vāstu-maṇḍala' ; in verse 58f. it is co-terminous with the groundfloor of the 'prāsāda'. It does not extend over the whole building site. The 'Śāradātilaka' III, 3, com. prescribes an area 8 cubits square for the Vāstumaṇḍala.—See note 3, p. 176.

2. Pt. I. ch. XI, 7 states more clearly than the above verses and then Part I. ch. XI, 9 that the '64 squares' are for worship by Brahmans, and the '81 squares' for worship by kings, originally.

8. Finally the deities of the thirty-two compartments on all the four sides should be known in their order from the east, in the four directions.

9. In the east, the eight deities are (proceeding) to the right : Īśāna, Parjanya, Jayanta, Indra, Arka, Satyaka, Bhṛśa and Antarikṣa.

10. Agni, Pūṣan, Vitatha, Yama, Gṛharakṣaka, Gandharva, Bhṛṅgarāja and Mṛga are in the south.

11. Nirṛti, Dauvārika, Sugrīva, Varuṇa, Puṣpadanta, Asura, Śoṣa and Pāpayakṣman are in the west.

12. Māruta, Nāga, Mukhya, Bhallāṭa, Niśākara, Argala, Diti and Aditi are situated in the north·

13. The head of Vāstoṣpati was placed in the north-east, the two hands in the north-west and the south-east, and the two feet in the south-west. On his eyes (rest) Parjanya and Aditi ; on the mouth, Āpa ; Āpavatsa on the neck, Diti on the ear, Indra and Argala along with Jayanta on the shoulders.

14. The Sun and Moon on the arms, Sāvitra along with Bhallāṭa, Satya, etc., and Rudra on his sides. Brahmā on the navel, Bhūbhṛt and Marīci on his breasts, Mitra with Vivasvān on his belly and Indraka on the private parts.

15. On his thighs and shins are placed the three beginning with Gandharva, Dauvāra, Sugala (Sugrīva) and Varuṇa, the rest are situated at the sides. One should therefore not deposit the 'garbha' on the(se parts and) limbs (aṅga) of the Vāstu. When this is done through ignorance, it causes the destruction of all.

16. The worship of Īśāna should be perfomed with offerings of ghee, unhusked rice (akṣata) and water, that of Parjanyaka with lotus, perfumes and water ; the flag of Jayanta should be yellow and one should honour Mahendra with boiled red rice and a light.

17. The worship of Śūrya should be performed with offerings of yellow rice and cloth ; of Satya, with rice with ghee ; of Bhṛśa with wheat, of Antarikṣa with meat and pulse.

18. One should worship Agni with the sacrificial ladle (sruc), worship Pūṣan with baked paddy, Vitatha with Kesara flower, (thorn apple ?) Gṛharakṣaka with hony and rice, and Yama with meat and rice.

19. Gandharva is worshipped with sweet smelling flowers, for

Bhṛṅgarāja there should be the tongue of birds ; the worship of Mṛga is performed with sesamum or barley, and 'kṛsara'[1] is prescribed for Nirṛti.

20. One should worship Dauvārika with beautiful wooden tooth-brush sticks, Sugrīva with incense and barley, Puṣpadanta with the stems of 'kuśa' grass and Varuṇa with white lotuses.

21. The worship of Asura consists in an offering of honey and unhusked rice mixed with ghee is for Śoṣa, rice of wild paddy is for Pāpayakṣman and (thin) cakes (maṇḍaka) baked in ghee are for Vāyu.

22. One should worship Nāga with Nāga flowers, Mukhya with sweet-meats, Bhallāṭa with rice mixed with kidney beans and king Soma with honey, milk-rice and ghee.

23. One should worship Argala with paddy and unhusked rice, Diti with ghee, rice and red paddy, Aditi with eatables of pulse and rice. Thus one should worship in the proper way, the thirty-two (deities) in (proper) order.

24. Āpa should be worshipped with milk, Āpavatsa with curd and balls of sweets in ghee ; having honoured Sāvitra with 'kuśa' grass one should worship Savitṛ with rice boiled with molasses.

25. Yellow rice with ghee is recommended for Indra, pure rice for Indrajaya ; cooked meat is prescribed for Rudra and raw meat for Rudrajaya.

26. Then Marīcika and the rest should be honoured with sweet-meat balls, red and white rice, and pulse mixed with ghee as well, in the prescribed way, with the respective rites and in the proper order.

27. Having first worshipped Brahmā with ghee, unhusked rice, the five cow-products, flowers, incense, boiled rice and sesamum, one should invoke and worship Śarva-Skanda in the east with milk-rice with ghee.

28-29. In the south one should offer meat with ghee to Aryaman ; in the west a yellow garland and meat to Jambhaka, in the north deep red flowers and rice to Pilipiñjā. The offerings for Carakī are in the north-east, of meat, rice and molasses, milk and rice prepared in ghee.

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1. Kṛsara is a mixture of sesamum and molasses, etc. or of rice with pulse, spices, etc.

30. The south-eastern offerings are to Vidāri, with bile and meat ; in the south-west, to Pūtanā with curd and red rice.

31. In the north-west, having reached the demoness, one should honour all with milk, bile, bone, and red rice, by (uttering) their proper names, and do homage to them with the proper rites.

32. If each of the prescribed articles of offerings to the outer eight kinds of spirits is not available, the offerings are flowers and unhusked rice, sweet smelling incense, lights and plain rice.

33. One should offer with a pure heart and clad in a white garment, the five requisite articles of worship,[1] at night after having performed the worship of these (divinities) by their proper names along with 'praṇava' and ending with obeisances.

34. Thus the deities resident in the body of the Vāstu, if properly worshipped, bestow success in that undertaking and peace.

35. Vāstoṣpati being laid out analogously in eighty-one squares, Brahmā is worshipped in its centre in nine squares ; beyond, in the corners, reside in two squares the deities Sāvitra, etc., and between them four gods with Marīca at their head, in proper order.

36. The thirty-two gods, with Īśa at their head, residing in each compartment in the eastern, etc., directions in the outer rim, should be separately worshipped in order, as in the previous instance. Outwards there are others, devoid of compartments, Carakī in the north-east, Vidāri in the south-east, Pūtanā in the south-west and Rākṣasī in the north-west.

37-38ab. One should honour in the east, south, west and north respectively, the four : Śarva-Skanda, and so on, standing outside, devoid of compartments.

38cd-39ab. One should invoke Vāstupa following either of the above two methods, and should worship in proper order the deities resident on his parts and limbs.

Here ends the section on the Worship of Vāstu.

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1. 'Jala, gandha, puṣpa, dhūpa, dīpa, naivedya' (water, perfume, flower, incense, light, food) are the 'pañcopacāra'.

39cd-40ab. Having thus worshipped the lord of the 'vāstu', one should give food to Brahmans there, to worshippers of Śiva, craftsmen and labourers, according to one's ability.

40cd-41. Then one should dig to the depth of a man standing with uplifted arms, the entire ground as far as the boundaries of the 'prāsāda', take out and discard the earth. According to some, one should get (the ground) dug up to the water-level or gravel-level.

In the Pratiṣṭhāpaddhati it is said on this subject :

(33). One should have (the soil) dug up to the gravel or water-level for a temple, and to half the depth of a man('s height) or till the earth becomes pure, for a (residential) house.

42-45. One should sprinkle the pit reciting 'astra' mantra,[1] then fill (it) eight 'aṅgulas' high, with pure earth which is not discoloured nor containing (defiled with) stones, etc. Then one should lay alternately to the height of one cubit, firm stones, separated by earth mixed with water and then strew sand and earth. Next, one should flood it with water, and get it trodden by elephants. When the ground is evenly beaten and pounded with strong stampers (shaped like) elephant legs and made of commended trees, one should fill it firmly. When one-fourth of the pit remains, one should lay the first bricks.

46-47. Then, to the north of the temple, a square hall (maṇḍapa) should be built with four doors, four pillars and four gates (toraṇa)[2] ; after completing the general (daily) rites and having bathed, the guru accompanied by the 'mūrtidharas' with offerings (arghya) in hand, should worship the lords of the door, at the western door.

48-50ab. Uttering (throwing) first the 'astra mantra', and entering he should repeat thrice the sacred text auspicious to the day (puṇyāhaṃ vācayet). The guru, with the sword of knowledge in hand, pure in his soul, in a purified place and with (the proper) mantras, should sprinkle the door of the 'maṇḍapa' with the 'five products of the cow' as special offerings (viśeṣārghya), should worship the Lord of the 'vāstu' and Brahmā

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1. The 'astra (weapon) mantra' : "astrāya phaṭ".
2. Ch. XXVI, 71, assigns the 'maṇḍapa' to the north-east.

in the centre, Lakṣmī in the east and Gaṇeśa in the south, Durgā in the west and Kṣetrapati in the north.

50cd-51. After the worship of the jars with the 'astra mantra' and scattering and throwing [rice, flowers, etc.], he should place the Lokapālas[1] into the jars and the 'weapons' on the standards, and announce to them the ordinance of Śiva with the mantra : O Śakra, etc..

52. Before he carries around the 'weapon' and the jar he should worship them when stationary, touch the jar with [liṅga] 'mudrā'[2] and offer the sword of knowledge to it.

53. He should pour, with Vedic mantras, ghee into the square pit where Śiva has been invoked, in the south-east, and should offer fuel (idhma) with the (mantra of) 'five syllables' (pañcākṣara).[3]

54-57. Uttering 'tāra' (Om) he must offer two sprinklings of ghee and separately again with the 'five syllables', two oblations of ghee and beginning with 'tāra' and ending with 'svāhā', three times three oblations of ghee. (He should offer) fuel, ghee, boiled rice and fried paddy, separately with five Vedic mantras and pour ghee a hundred times separately with hundred 'vyāhṛtis'. He should offer with the 'lokapāla' and 'astra' mantras, each with two oblations, and once to each of the stars, spirits (bhūtas) and serpents (nāgas) and again with the 'five syllables' (mantra) to all the deities and utter mantras beginning with their own names and ending with 'namaḥ svāhā'.

58-60. With 'vyāhṛtis' he should pour ghee in the full (and final) oblation and with 'sviṣṭakṛt' rite and scatter the tribute reciting the mantra of 11 [parts] and then, with the 'pañcākṣara' (uttered) as many times he should stretch the corner cords (koṇa-sūtra) on the square floor of the 'prāsāda' [to be erected] (thus) divided into four compartments. Having made eighty-one squares, he should [plan and] lay out the 'marmās' (intersections of lines, 'vitals') and the 'sirās' (veins),[4]

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1. The guardians of the quarters and the weapons are placed symbolically, by their mantras.
2. Re. the 'mudrā', see Pt. III. ch. XVI, p. 142. In verse 104, the following 'mudrās' are implied : 'āvāhanī', invoking ; 'sthāpanī', placing, establishing ; 'sannirodhinī', detaining ; 'añjali', worshipping ; 'avaguṇṭhana', covering, veiling.
3. The 'five syllables' mantra : Namaḥ Śivāya.
4. For these, and the following terms, see p. 186.

the 'aṅgas' (parts, limbs) of the Vāstu (diagram).   One should not place any (building) stones on these.

61.   One should also not place the first pillar on the 'marmas', etc. The eastern cord [or line] (prāk-sūtra) is called 'ūrdhvavaṃśa' ; the 'vaṃśas' are the corner-cords (koṇa-rajju).

62.   The northern cord (udak-sūtra) is called 'pārśva-vaṃśa'.   The cords (lines) are thought to be its 'sirās', the joints (sandhi) are its 'marmas'.   The limbs (aṅga) are made according to (rules) given above.

(34).   As they are to be avoided in the laying of the first bricks, etc., the 'aṅgas' (parts and limbs) of the Lord of the 'vāstu' are being recounted again.   They are :

(35-38).   His head is in Īśāna (N. E.), the two hands in Agni and Vāyu (S. E. and N. W.), the eyes in Parjanya and Diti,[1] the mouth in Āpa, neck in Āpavatsa, ears in Aditi, shoulders in Jayanta and Argala, the arms in Sūrya, Soma, etc., the side ('pṛṣtha') in Rudra, the fore-arms in Savitṛ, Sāvitra, Roga and Śoṣa, the navel in Brahmā, the breasts in Bhūbhṛt and Aryaman, the belly in Mitra and Vivasvān, the private parts in Indra and Indrajaya, and the feet in Nirṛti (S. W.).

(39-40).   One should therefore lay the first bricks and avoid the spirits and divinities who form the 'aṅgas' (limbs), the 'marmas' (vitals) and 'sirās' (veins) of the Vāstupuruṣa.   One should place the first pillar in 'maṇḍapas', houses, etc., accordingly.

On this (it is said in) the Viśvakarmīya :

(41).   If through ignorance or by mistake, one places a stone on an 'aṅga' of Vāstu, loss of position, distress or death even will befall the maker.

63.   Thus, when one-fourth remains of the pit, one should lay the first bricks to the right hand of the door between the 'bhuja' and 'vaṃśa'.[2]

64-65.   The first bricks should be nine in number or five. Their bodies are divided into front and back ; they are without defect, with auspicious marks, a cubit long, half of that in breadth and eight 'aṅgulas' high, well burnt, of red colour, and free from cracks and break.

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1. Re. the positions of Diti and Aditi, there are discrepancies here, and in v. 13-15; cf. Pt. I. ch. XI,19.

2. The term 'bhuja' (arm, side) is not explained here.   Verse 73 specifies the place of the 'garbha' between Indra (east) and Agni (south-east), or between the respective main diagonal ('vaṃśa' ; across Agni) and the lesser diagonal (through Indra).

66. This prescription about bricks is for the liṅgas and 'prāsādas' which are 'best among the best'. That for the best, etc., [middle and least] is (now) being given.

67-70. The first bricks for the best, etc., 'vimānas' are directed to be twelve, ten and eight 'aṅgulas' long, half of that in breadth, and half of the breadth in height. The brick which is bigger at the base is female, that bigger at the top is neuter. The male brick should be of equal thickness all over. According to some, male bricks are ordered (to be used in buildings set up) for male [patrons] and female for female (ones). The male bricks however fulfil all the desires of everybody. In stone temples the first 'bricks' may be of stone.

71. Then, in the middle of the 'maṇḍapa', an altar (sthaṇḍila) is made with rice and the 'tārāsana'¹ of 'darbha' grass ; then one should place those first bricks on it.

(42-45). There, one should sprinkle the bricks with 'arghya', strike them while reciting thè 'astra mantra,' draw lines on them while reciting 'kavaca (armour) mantra', cleanse them with earth, bathe them with cow-dung, cow-urine, the 'five products of the cow', 'pañcāmṛta' (the five nectars), gold, gem, fruit, perfumed water, alternating with water and incense, anoint them with perfumes, bind each of them with two gold 'marriage' threads, cover each with unbleached cloth, place them in the proper directions on the above altar and meditate on their three parts.

(46-49ab). There, one should behold and invoke in the base, middle and top of eight bricks, each by the proper name in the dative beginning with 'praṇava' and ending in 'namaḥ' : the eight 'purīs' from 'buddhi' to 'gandha',² the eight 'mūrtis' (manifestations of Śiva) from earth to atmosphere (vyoma) and the eight lords of the manifestations from Sarva to Bhīma, and along with the Śiva-tattva, Vidyā-tattva and

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1. The square surface of the altar ; in the middle 'tāra' (Om) is written.

2. The 'puryaṣṭaka' constitutes the subtle body apportioned to man (pralayakala). Here, it consists of buddhi, ahaṃkāra, manas, cosmic intellect, individuation and mind, and the 5 'tanmātras'. [It consists of a set of eight, comprising 31 Tattvas ; Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha', ch. VII, 'Śaivadarśana']. (See note, p. 193).

Ātma-tattva[1] the 'Causal lords',[2] Rudra, Viṣṇu and Brahmā, in traditional order by these names.

(49cd-53). Then he (the guru) should meditate and worship: Om, homage to 'buddhi'—thus (down) to 'gandha'; Om, obeisance to the Śiva-tattva; Om, obeisance to Rudra, the lord of the Śiva-tattva; thus (he should worship) first at the bases (of the bricks). Om, homage to the earth—thus the eight up to atmosphere; Om, obeisance to the Vidyā-tattva; obeisance to Viṣṇu, the lord of the Vidyā-tattva—thus in the central parts. Om, obeisance to Śarva, the lord of the earth—thus up to Bhīma; Om, obeisance to the Ātma-tattva; Om, obeisance to Brahmā, the lord of the Ātma-tattva—thus in the top parts.

(54-55). In this way he should touch the base, middle and top parts of the bricks with 'kuśa' grass, (reciting) 'astra mantra'; and then, touching the middle brick he should worship: Obeisance to Śiva, the Lord of all the principles (tattva), all the manifestations (mūrti), all the lords of the manifestations and of the Three Tattvas.[3]

(56-58). Then one should prepare a protection all round with protective 'darbha' grass and sesamum, sit in front of the pit, and please the Three 'tattvas'; and 'buddhi', etc.; earth (pṛthvī), etc., and their lords, Śarva, etc., with three oblations of ghee (invoking them) by their proper names in the dative case, beginning with 'tāra' (praṇava) and ending with 'svāhā'; the remainder (of the offerings) one should place in a vessel, and throw it on the bricks in the three parts.

(59-64). Then one should utter the 'tattvas' in close combination: "Om Ām Īm, obeisance to the Ātma-tattva and Vidyā-tattva; Om Īm Ūm, obeisance to the Vidyā-tattva and Śiva-tattva. Then one should place copper jars of treasure filled with the "three sweets", five or nine or as many as the bricks number; in the case of nine, one should invoke the "eight treasures", 'padma.

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1 Cf 'Agni Purāṇa', ch. 92, 32-65. The three (groups of the 36) Tattvas are the ontological stages of manifestation of and by Consciousness, of the Supreme Śiva (niṣkala Para naśiva). (Note, p. 193).

2. The 5 Kāraṇeśvaras are Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Īśvara and Sadāśiva. In Nirvāṇadīkṣā they receive the 'puryaṣṭaka' of the disciple so that the obstacles are withdrawn from the path which leads to 'mokṣa' (Pt. III. ch. XVIII, 83-112).

3. The Three Tattvas are: Śiva ('niṣkala'), Sadāśiva ('sakala-niṣkala') and Maheśa (Īśvara; 'sakala' or 'mūrti'. (p. 193).

mahāpadma, makara, kacchapa, mukunda, ananta, nīla' and 'śaṅkha', in the eight jars called 'subhadra, vibhadra, sunanda, puṣpadanta, jaya, vijaya, jayanta' and 'pūrṇa', and should worship in the middle (in the) Ananta jar—filled with the treasure 'Śakti'[1] and with the base [of the jar] placed on salt—Ananta below and Brahmā above. One should invoke the eight Lokapālas, Indra, and so on, in these treasures and worship them.

(65-69). In the case of five, one should invoke "the five treasures" 'padma, mahāpadma, makara, śaṅkha', and 'samudra', in the jars called 'dharma, jñāna, vairāgya', aiśvarya', and 'sarvasiddhi' on the lunar days 'nandā, bhadrā, jayā, riktā' and 'pūrṇā' ; then one should invoke the 'Five causal lords' (kāraṇeśa), Brahmā, and so on, in the five treasures and should properly worship them. Then putting nine gems in the case of nine treasures and five gems in the case of five, in all the jars, and placing them in pits up to their mouths, in the respective directions, one should worship the treasures, the Lokapālas, or the Causal lords with offerings.

(70-71). Then, fetching in order the bricks placed on the altar, one should lay them in the specified moments, with their tops to the east and the north on the mouths of the treasure jars, (while uttering) the names of those treasures and Lokapālas, beginning with 'tāra' (.praṇava) and ending in 'namaḥ'.

(72-75). One should lay them all thoroughly evenly, avoiding depressions and eminences, proceeding to the right, from the east [southwards] to the north-east and the centre, and in the case of five, from the east to the north and the centre. Should they not be even, danger in the kingdom would cause distress to the place and maker. On this account, one should lay them evenly, bathe them with the water from the Śiva-jar, fill the pit with perfumed water, throw a flower uttering 'praṇava' and watch it. If it· rotates to the right it is auspicious ; if in the opposite direction, one should counteract the evil effect by 'homa', 'japa' and gifts.

(76-78). Then, as specified, one should fill up the place with stones or bricks, as high as the specified (number of) cubits, make it

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1. Ch. XXVI (5-6), note 3, p. 155 ; and Pt. III. Ch. V. p. 45 of the text. Here, the central jar [Ananta which 'holds' or represents Śakti] is the 'āsana' (seat) or 'ādhāra' (support) of the middle or central brick where Śiva has been invoked and which is to be placed on its mouth.

even, honour the preceptor, the 'mūrtidharas' and the craftsmen, lie down on a bed of 'darbha'-grass at night, see dreams and if the dreams be bad, one should counteract them. If the dream is auspicious, one should again perform the sacrifice to Vāstu and then deposit the 'garbha'.

Here ends the section on the First Bricks.

72. Now one should deposit the 'garbha' of the buildings (āyatana), etc. It is their seed (bīja), and mother (prakṛti), and gives prosperity.

73-74. All castes should deposit the 'garbha' on the ground, to the south (or right) of the door, and between east (Indra) and south-east (Agni) for (the sake of) prosperity. According to some, (the 'garbha' should be placed) on the topmost moulding of the base (prati) for Brahmans, on its lowermost moulding (upāna) for kings [Kṣatriyas], and for Vaiśyas and the fourth caste on the ground (bhūmi).

75ab. One should make a firm copper casket (phelā) the receptacle of the 'garbha'.

On this (it is said) in the Mañjarī :

(79). It has an area) eight 'aṅgulas' (square) ; its height is half of it and one quarter less (than the height is) its 'top'.[1] The best vessel should be a cubit long (square) and the height should be calculated according to the proportionate ratio (trairāśika, the rule of three).[2]

75cd. It should be made with its cover, one-twentieth·part thick.

76. The height of the walls of the casket (koṣṭha) should be a fourth part (less than ?) its breadth ; according to some, a height equal to the length is the best.

77. The medium height should be three quarter and the least, half the length. The cover should be a third part and everywhere (fitting), level and firm.

78. 'Having washed [while reciting] 'hṛdaya' mantra the vessel and the pit with the five products of the cow, and smeared them with cow-dung one should repeat thrice the sacred formulas auspicious to the day.

79-80. One should draw the serpent Ananta, with powder, and place the 'garbha'-vessel (garbha-pātra) on its hood, and then above it make an

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1. cf. 'Viṣṇusaṃhitā', XIII. 23, cd. ; 'Tantrasamuccaya', I, 27.
2. 'Trairāśika' liṅgas measure 9 equal parts in length ; 8, 7 and 6 such parts is the measure of the periphery of the Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra-bhāga respectively (Gopinatha Rao, E.H.I., Pt. II, vol. I, p. 89).

altar with rice, of four 'angulas' (side-length); one should draw on it with (the white) sand of the sea, the earth with the seven continents and mountains.

81-82. At the bottom of the 'garbha' vessel with a hundred compartments planned within, Brahmā stays in the central compartment, outwards from it in eight compartments there are Marīcaka, Sāvitra, Vivasvat, Śakra, Mitra, Rudra, Pṛthvīdhara and Āpavatsa in like manner [as also similarly in the Vāstupuruṣa].

83. Beyond them, in each third (svara) compartment stand sixteen deities. They are : Īśāna, Jayanta, Sūrya and Bhṛśa in the east ;

84-85ab. Agni, Vitatha, Kīnāśa, and Bhṛṅgarāja in the south, Nirṛti, Sugrīva, Varuṇa, and Śoṣa in the west ; Vāyu, Mukhya, Soma and Aditi in the north.

85cd-86. One should place, in (proper) order, in Marīca, and the rest the (following) eight : diamond, pearl, lapis-lazuli, conch-shell, emerald, crystal, saphire and coral ; ruby in Brahmā.

87. Barley, red arsenic, paddy and yellow orpiment in the east, wild rice, collyrium, alum and saffron (in the south).

88. One should place 'śyāmaka' grain, lead, pulse (or : a weight of gold ?) and bell metal in the west and 'kulattha' (a kind of pulse), a yellow pigment (rocana), 'niṣpāva'-pulse and ochre (red chalk) in the north.

89. One should put in proper order the (following) eight : gold, silver (tāra), copper, iron, tin, tortoise, lotus and also a spear (śūla) in the eight quarters and sub-quarters.

90. One should place in proper order in the abode of Brahmā, the following objects made of gold : skull-staff (khaṭvāṅga), crescent moon, bull, bow, lotus, axe, deer and 'cakra' (wheel).

91-3ab. Having placed in the eastern quarter and the others soil from mountains, fords, rivers and deep pools ; and earth from crab-holes, ant-hills and the sea-shore, earth dug up by the horns of bulls and by the tusks of elephants in the sub-quarters from the south-east onwards, one should put in the centre earth dug up by the horns of bulls and by elephant tusks.

93cd-4ab. In the (four) quarters and in the centre one should place the roots of 'saroja, nīlotpala, kumuda, utpala' and 'tagara'.[1]

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1. The first four are lotuses, 'tagara' is 'tabernaemontana coronaria'.

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94cd-5ab. Then the 'mūrtipas',[1] should offer as oblation, separately by twos, fuel, ghee, boiled rice and sesamum in the (four) quarters and recite (mantras), 'Sadya' and so forth, part by part.[2]

95cd-96. The preceptor should make an oblation of ghee and recite mantras from the Saṃhitā and then three oblations of each, fuel, ghee, boiled rice and fried paddy, and separately eleven oblations, in the pit in the south-east where Śiva has been invoked, to the south of the 'maṇḍapa'.

97. Then (he should offer) separately with 'pañcākṣara' and 'vyomavyāpin[3] ten syllable' mantras, with the (mantra of) thirty eight 'kalās'[4] and with Vedic mantras, once each.

98-100ab. Then he should offer, once to each, ghee to the gems, seeds, herbs, metals, roots, soils, Lokapālas, weapons, islands, seas, quarters, nether-worlds and serpents, beginning with 'tāra' (Om), preceded by (the words) "to all", by their proper names in the dative and ending with 'svāhā'.

100cd-101. Then he should collect the remaining ghee of all these oblations in a vessel, and pour it on the 'garbha' with 'tāra', meditate on it as made of the earth, worship it with perfumes and so on, touch it and recite the 'pañcākṣara'.

102-3. In a night with flawless ('unhurt', 'akhaṇḍa') stars, steady zodiacal sign[5] and which is altogether auspicious, he should meditate on that casket, the goddess Earth, with the seven continents and oceans, the four kinds of living beings[6] and the moving and the immovable, as seed (bīja) and womb (garbha) of the specified buildings, etc.

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1. Here and elsewhere 'mūrti-pa' stands for 'mūrti-dhara' ; cf. 'Matsyapurāṇa', ch. 265.
2. The Sadya mantra :

सद्योजातं प्रपद्यामि सद्योजाताय वै नम: ।

भवे भवे नातिभवे भवस्वमां भवोद्भवाय नम: ॥

The Īśāna mantra :

ईशान: सर्वविद्यानामीश्वर: सर्वभूतानां ।

ब्रह्माधिपतिर्ब्रह्मणोऽधिपतिर्ब्रह्मा शिवो मेस्तु सदाशिवोम ॥

The Aghora mantra :

अघोरेभ्योऽथ घोरेभ्यो घोरघोरतरेभ्य:

सर्वेभ्यस्सर्वसर्वेभ्यो नमस्तेऽस्तु रुद्ररूपेभ्य: ॥

(Taitt. Ar. X. 43-47).

3. Pt. III, Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati, ch. XVII, p. 169.
4. Cf. Pt. I, p. 12 ; 'Śāradātilaka', XVIII, pp. 723-725, the 38 'kalās' or attributes of Śiva.
5. 'Vṛṣa, siṃha, vṛścika' and 'kumbha' (taurus, leo, scorpio and aquarius) are 'sthirarāśi'.
6. Viviparous, egg-born, etc. (Manu-Smṛti, I, 43-46).

(80ab). "Oṃ Hāṃ Hlāṃ, obeisance to the Earth who maintaineth all beings".

104. He should invoke her with the Sadya mantra,[1] establish her with 'Uttara', detain her with 'Aghora', worship her with 'Vaktra', veil her with 'Īśāna', and then again worship her with perfumes, and so forth.

105-6. Om, O thou who maintainest all the beings, O beloved, decked with hills for breasts, O ocean-girt, O goddess, O Earth, shelter this germ ('garbha').

(80cd). By the above mantra he should consecrate the steady earth resting in the casket.[2]

On this it is said in the Mañjari :

(81-82). Reciting this mantra more than once, thus, and meditating on the maṇḍala of the Earth one should deposit the 'garbha' in the proper way, in the pit flooded with the urine of the cow ; thus one should perform the rite of 'garbhādhāna' in conformity with prescribed rules, satisfy the guru with donations, and then build the temple firm and according to the rules, by means of craftsmen.

Here ends the 27th Paṭala on the worship of Vāstu, the First Bricks, and the Depositing of the Garbha in Śrīmad Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati.......

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Among the rites which precede the building of a temple, chapters 26 and 27 of the 'kriyāpāda', Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati, dwell on the Vāstupuruṣa (XXVI, 94-127 ; XXVII, 1-39, 60-63) and the First Bricks (XXVII, 64-72).

The eight manifestations of Śiva, earth, fire, the sacrificing priest, sun, water, air, moon and atmosphere correspond to the eight constituents (puryaṣṭaka) of the 'subtle body' assigned to man (pralayakala). The eight manifestations move the world on and on. The 'puryaṣṭaka' apportioned to the human being in bondage, continues from the beginning to the end of the Kalpa or until liberation. The manifestations are represented by eight

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1. Acc. to the 'Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha' (ch.: Śaivadarśana) the mantras Īśāna, Tatpuruṣa, Aghora, Vāmadeva and Sadyojāta represent the head, face, heart, sex, and feet of the 'body of pure energy' (śaktikaṃ śarīram) of Śiva. This body has no substance (prakṛti). It consists of acting energy (śakti) only.—The 'uttara' is the Vāmadeva mantra ; 'vaktra' stands for Tatpuruṣa.—See note 2, p. 167.

2. cf. also : Viṣṇusaṃhitā, XIII, 43.

Brahmans (mūrti-dhara) and presided over by eight divinities (mūrti-pa ; mūrtīśvara).   The eight manifestations of Śiva, and the eight constituents of the subtle body of man and all the Tattvas are invoked in the base, middle and top of the first eight bricks which are consecrated on an altar before they are laid down in the 'foundation' of a temple.   The Supreme Śiva who is beyond and without qualities and who is the origin and Lord of all the Tattvas is invoked in the (ninth) brick in the middle.

The First bricks represent the bricks or stones of which the temple is built ; they are impregnated with the presence of Śiva.

The architectural ritual of drawing the figure of the Vāstu-puruṣa precedes every building activity.   The knowledge of its correct execution is the first limb (aṅga) of the science of architecture.[1]   In the case of a temple the figure is a square divided originally into 64, or also 81 sub-squares.[2]   It is drawn on the floor-space of the temple and is co-terminous with it or it has a given side length of 5 or 8 cubits.[3]   Its size varies ; its meaning is fixed.   It is the maṇḍala in which cosmic order is laid out in a network which also holds the Vāstupuruṣa.   They are congruous.   Legends tell how this came to be.   The rite of drawing, etc. this maṇḍala ensures that the temple is set up on this plan.   It converts the actual, geographical situation of every temple to one of cosmic extent.   The cosmos is the planned level on which the temple rests. The Vāstumaṇḍala in this sense is its 'site-plan'.

On the body of the Vāstu-puruṣa, the gods have taken their places. They are assembled in order and they are co-terminous with the limbs of this Puruṣa.   Laid to rest, it is they who have and are his life. They reside on his body.   He is their substratum, and they are his 'limbs' and parts.   This 'picture' of the Vāstu-puruṣa is thrown on the surface of the earth as a replica of the Puruṣa through whose dismemberment at the archetypal sacrifice all that exists of the universe originated. His substance became scattered.   In the image of the Puruṣa, figured as the

1. 'Samarāṅgaṇasūtrādhara', ch. 45, 2.

2. The "64 squares" are the original prescription for temples ('Bṛhat Saṃhitā, LV, 10).   It is amplified in the present text (ch. 27, 3); cf. 'Hayaśīrṣa-pañcarātra', Pt. I ; v. 150 : "always 64 for shrines and 84 for houses".   Chs VIII, XI and XII of this Vaiṣṇava text are identical or parallel with the Śaiva tradition.—See notes pp. 162, 179.

3. 'Śāradātilaka', III, 3, com. ; 'Agnipurāṇa', ch. 93, 42, where it is also said that "the best size is co-extensive with the 'gṛha-prāsāda'."

site-plan,[1] the gods and with them all that exists in the universe, have come back to reside in the substance (vāstu) of the Puruṣa.

Between the hymn of the Ṛgveda (X. 90) and the site-plan of a Hindu temple, building or dwelling place (village, etc.), between the Puruṣa-sūkta and the Vāstu-puruṣa, lies the symbolism of the fire altar (Agni). It is put down in detail, in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

The story of the Vāstu-puruṣa too, of which several versions will be given below, has its analogy in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa I. 2. 5. 1-6.

"The gods and the Asuras, both of them sprung from Prajāpati, were contending for superiority. The gods placed Viṣṇu (in the shape of) this very sacrifice at their head and went (to the Asuras). They said : Let us share in this earth along with yourselves. The Asuras replied : as much as this Viṣṇu lies upon, and no more, we give you.

Now Viṣṇu was a dwarf. The gods however were not offended at this, but said : Much indeed they gave us who gave us what is equal in size to the sacrifice.

Having then laid him (Viṣṇu) eastwards, they enclosed him on all 3 sides." (S. B. E., vol. XII).

Viṣṇu is equal to the sacrifice. The sacrifice covers and comprises the whole cosmos.

Viṣṇu, the dwarf, is none but Viṣṇu prior to taking the three strides by which he takes possession of the universe. Viṣṇu, as the sacrifice, also covers the whole world. This boon the gods were given by the Asuras while they were contending for superiority.

Viṣṇu, the sacrifice and the cosmos are co-extensive. All this then belongs to the gods. They lay Viṣṇu eastwards and enclose him on three sides. The Asuras are ousted.

The battle between the gods and the Asuras at other times takes a different course and it is not Viṣṇu, the god, who is laid down and enclosed. The Vāstu-puruṣa is an Asura. Defeated, he yet, as a boon from Śiva, makes his substance the place in which the gods dwell.

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1. The image of the Vāstupuruṣa, of 'anthropomorphic' appearance, is described in the 'Prayoga-parijāta', l. c., 35 ; 'Mahānirvāṇa-tantra', XIII, 63-66, as 2 or 4 armed.
The 'Matsyapurāṇa'. CCLVI. 11-13, enjoins that the footprints of Vāstu should be drawn during the sacrifice to Vāstu to appease this divinity.

This 'double foundation' is symbolically co-terminous with the extent of the manifested universe ; each building-site, or building is its reduced and self-contained likeness.

The gods and the Asuras are issued from Prajāpati. The Asuras originally are not demons ; they are supremely powerful. The power of the Vāstu-puruṣa has not been spent in his downfall. It is by an act of his own will that he is held and kept in check by the gods. They occupy his whole extent. They are co-terminous and therefore, in their totality one with him. They together, the Asura and the gods constitute the indissoluble plan on which every building activity is based. The body of the Vāstu-puruṣa has the gods resident on, and in place of, his limbs (aṅga).

The battle of the gods and the Asuras ends, as is shown by the 'image' of the Vāstu-puruṣa, in a co-existence of gods and Asuras. The Asura Vāstu-puruṣa lies below. He forms the total base ; the gods hold him down ; they have his power and it belongs to them in all the limbs of his body.

The houses of God and those of men, every one of them is built on the Vāstu-puruṣa.

The power of the Asura,[1] held in every part by divinities, supports the building and is one with the extent of the building site. The texts assign definite parts of the body of the Vāstu-puruṣa to different divinities. According to the position in which the Vāstu-puruṣa is said to lie, with his head in the N. E. or in the E., the sections of his body assigned to the Devatās vary.[2] But such a difference in the correlation of the body or 'image' of the Vāstu-puruṣa with its sections, and the divinities, leaves unaffected their positions in the site-plan.

Number and position of the divinities follow but one order, whether 45, 49 or 53 gods are enumerated as the occupiers of 64 or

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1. 'Asurya', supreme power, universal sovereignty is in the Ṛgveda assigned to Indra (I. 174. 1 ; IV. 42. 2 ; VI. 36. 1 ; VII, 21. 7). In some versions of his story (Meru-tantra) the Vāstupuruṣa figures as Asura—Prajāpati, as universal king ; p. 180.

Coomaraswamy, 'Angel and Titan', JAOS., 55, p. 373, shows that the Devas and Asuras "are in essence consubstantial."

2. This is explicitly described in 'Śilparatna', VII, 28-33, 34-38.

81 squares, etc., or of any site equal in area.[1] 53 means in this case, 1 plus 12 plus 32 plus 8. Their essential number is however 45, and the 8 (or 4) divinities and ogresses on the outer margin are not everywhere present and if present are assigned their definite positions but the proportionate size of the plots they occupy is not necessarily given.

Inside these optional four or eight divinities, the 45 Vedic gods show their function by their number and position as clearly as by their names. Brahmā in the centre is one, irrespective of the number (4 or 9) of squares he occupies. Of the twelve divinities around him, some are aspects of the Sun corresponding or identical with the twelve Ādityas or as far as their number goes with the 12 months of the year. As a whole however, they are the effulgence which radiates from the centre and surrounds it.[2] One by one, in the rite of circumambulation which is analogous by its direction to the course of the sun, they are known by their proper place and name. Viewed in the plan in their totality they are, as the sum of their places, one total effulgence. They, as also the other divinities are turned towards Brahmā and look back to the centre as their point of origin. Their sum total,—the whole of the year—,[3] is simultaneously present.

It is encompassed by the 32 outer divinities, 8 on each of the 4 sides ; the four Lokapālas and the other Aṣṭadikpālas, the guardians of the 8 quarters, and further divinities associated with them dwell along the outlines on the site-plan, as a model of the world which is stretched out in four directions. The spatial symbolism of the occupiers of the outer squares of the Vāstupuruṣa is parallel to, and surrounds the inner squares of the twelve divinities ; 'pradakṣiṇa' of the outer divinities is a total pilgrimage on this earth from one sacred place to the next whereas 'pradakṣiṇa' of the inner divinities leads around the centre in the fulness of time.

The Vāstupuruṣa incorporates in his 'vastu' the substance of all his Asura-power ; it is spread over the plan underlying all architectural

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1. Utpala, commenting on 'Bṛhatsaṃhitā', LII, 56 describes the positions of the gods in circular and triangular sites.

2. Mitra, Aryaman and Vivasvat, synonyms of the 'Sun' lie along the entire E., S. and W. sides of the Brahmasthāna.

3. 'Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa', X. V, 4. 10 ; P. Mus, 'Barabuḍur', B. E. F. E. O., XXXII, p. 788.

activity, the symbolic order of time and space and the 'residence' of gods and men. Brahmā is in the middle of the body of the Vāstupuruṣa.

The story of the coming to earth of the Vāstupuruṣa has several versions. He is known as an Asura, in some of them. The Īśānaśiva-gurudevapaddhati and the Śilparatna invest him with the appearance of a goat, make him, born during a sacrifice of the Asuras, grow in size until he covers all the regions. In these versions of the legend, sacrificial and Asura power are combined.

In other versions the Asura is referred to as a righteous and wise king who sacrifices his own body—the self sacrifice of Prajāpati. The story from the Meru-tantra and repeated in the Puraścaryārnava[1] is given here.

"Once there was a demon called Vāstu who was strong and brave ; he conquered the three worlds and defeated the 53 gods.

Whoever met him face to face was killed at once ; after conquering all many times, he became Prajāpati.

After 1000 years (according to Deva years) the gods approached Viṣṇu, myself (Śiva) and Pārvatī to rescue them from the Asura ; this was also heard by the demon.

Eager to fight with us he came to the spot where we were assembled ; advised by Nārada, we fought with him for five years.

Then the demon, overwhelmed with pride and bewitched by the 'māyā' of Viṣṇu, asked me to ask him boons. (The demon said :)

'I was not at all impressed by Indra or Kubera who fought with their armies, but now I am very pleased with your fighting tactics singly.

With the help of Viṣṇu and that of Pārvatī who always occupies half of your body, I, the god of the three worlds, am (also) greatly pleased, and as there is nothing in the three worlds which can not be given by me to you, all of you (three) must ask your wishes separately.'

After hearing this, Viṣṇu seeing consent in the eyes of Pārvatī and Śiva, addressed the Asura : "O king of Asuras, there is none

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1. Puraścaryārnava, pp. 105-106 ; compiled by H. H. The Maharaja Pratap Sinha Shah Bahadur of Nepal ; ed. M. Sarma ; Benares 1901.

equal to you. I will be blessed if you say three times that you will not fail to fulfil our wishes. Myself, Śiva and Pārvatī, the three combined, will ask you only one boon."

Then the Asura promised three times that he would give the boon at any cost ; Viṣṇu said to him : "You must find a way to die soon."

The Asura to whom all this was nothing but Viṣṇu's 'māyā', said to Viṣṇu :

"All the beings must die one day or another. If a man dies to keep his word he will not be treated as dead, he will be living always.···please destroy my body."

Then a bodyless voice (was heard) : "···now hear the boon which will be very welcome to you, king of the Asuras. The men who are building houses without performing your festival will be attacked by mental and physical troubles, and disturbed by the Kālavarṇī, etc., Vināyaka, etc."

After hearing this order of the divine voice the Asura dug a pit and entered into it and the gods filled it with mud and stones.

The 53 gods who were defeated by the Asura were determined to live in fifty-three places above the pit in order to check him from coming out of it.

So all of these 53 gods must be worshipped while building a new house, etc."

Other stories tell of the Vāstupuruṣa as issued from Śiva himself.[1] The Matsyapurāṇa, ch. 252, 5-19, narrates :

In days gone by, perspiration trickled from the forehead of Śiva at the time of his fighting fiercely with the demon Aṃdhaka in course of which the latter was killed, and out of this sweat of the fatigued Śiva was born an attendant, grim in appearance who looked as if to swallow the whole universe with the seven islands and the sky. He then began to drink the blood of the Aṃdhaka demons that lay scattered on the ground ; but he was not satisfied with it. Then that

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1. cf. the passage of Śukra through Śiva's body (p. 160) ; Śiva's body as place of origin or transmutation of Asura power.

hungry attendant began to practice 'tapasyā' [austerities] with the object of devouring the three regions in honour of Śiva. Lord Śiva in due time was highly pleased with the devotee and asked him to select a boon.

The devotee said, Lord, be pleased to permit me to eat of the three realms and the Lord said : Be it so. Then that devotee besieged and brought all the three regions under his clutches and then fell down on this earth.

The terrified gods, Brahmā, Śiva, demons, and Rākṣasas, got round and captured him from all sides ; he being thus imprisoned remained there and since then, owing to all the Devas remaining there and living on him he came to be recognised as Vāstudeva. Seeing the Devas thus predominant and finding himself thus besieged, the being that sprung from Śiva's sweat said : Devas, you have now made me motionless ; be pleased, how can I stay thus imprisoned, with my head downwards. The Devas replied : you will enjoy the sacrificial offerings of the Viśvadeva sacrifice and the offerings that will be given within any dwelling house, and one who will perform sacrifices without the prescribed method, will also be your food.

You will also enjoy the sacrificial offerings made in course of other ordinary sacrifices. That Vāstudeva then became highly pleased to hear those words and since then the Vāstu worship became extant to appease the Vāstu Deva. (Transl. S. B. H., Vol. II).

Other versions are less full: "There was of yore a cruel Asura, exceedingly haughty on account of the strength of his arms and a terror to all the worlds. He was felled down on the earth and conquered by the Devas and has now become peaceful. He is the Vāstupuruṣa who occupies the square site. He lies flat on his back with his head in the Īśa corner. The Devatās seated themselves on his limbs."[1] Similar to Bṛhatsaṁhitā, LII, 2-3, the Agnipurāṇa, XL, 1, gives a further abridged version. "There was once a great being, a terror to all creatures. The gods laid him down on earth

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1. 'Vāstu-Vidyā', IV, 47-48 (transl. K. P. Pisharoti and V. K. R. Menon, Calcutta Oriental Journal, Vol. II. p. 50).

and he is known as Vāstupuruṣa." The same is told in the Viśvakarma-vidyāprakāśa, 21-22. The laying down on earth by the Devas of that being who is called Asura, took place in the Kṛta Yuga (acc. Br. S. LII, 3, comm., quoting Bṛhaspati). It was given the name of Vāstupuruṣa, by Brahmā (Br. S.) or by Śiva (Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati). The Kāśyapaśilpa, II, 12-24, speaks of Vāstupuruṣa who is 'laid to sleep' by the gods, bound with 20 cords [the 'nāḍis']. Brahmā is situated on the navel-cord (nābhi-sūtra). Here the Vāstupuruṣa is beheld as Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa (Anantaśayana).

In other such summary accounts certain important phases of the story are given, for instance in the 'Manuṣyālayacandrikā' II, 27-28. "Once there was a demon full of power and pride ; in his power he conquered (the world) in all the directions. This friend of the demons and enemy of the gods was stabbed by the gods in the war (between the 'devas' and the 'asuras'). He fell on the earth, all of a sudden spread over the whole extent of the earth and drove all the beings away from there. This was done by a large number of revolutions of his [writhing] body. Men and sages were unable to stay on earth and the gods too, were in the same plight. He spread himself out for ever in all cities and towns on earth and in all sites as small [even] as the area of a court-yard, etc., just as the atmosphere (vyoma) which spreads everywhere even inside a pot. He placed his head and legs north-east to south-west, spread out (uttāna) [facing upwards]. The gods all of a sudden occupied the [different] parts of his body." If the meaning of 'uttāna' includes 'facing upwards', the Vāstupuruṣa is no longer in the prostrate position (p. 161). He has turned around. In his 'resurrection' the gods have, and are, his body and life.[1]

The lie of the head of the Vāstupuruṣa (N. E. or E.)[2] and the discrepancies in the terminology ('vaṃśa', 'sirā' ; 'backbone', 'veins', etc.)

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1. Cf. pp. 163, 168. Here, and in other texts, the gods reside on the eyes, mouth, breast, navel, etc., of the Vāstupuruṣa. The vision of the Vāstupuruṣa when occupied by the gods, corresponds to 'uttāna' spread out, 'facing upwards'.

2. Acc. to 'Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra', XIV, 11, the head of Vāstu lies in the N. E. in a site of 81 squares. and in the E. in a site of 64 squares.

of the lines of the site-plan in the various manuals may be accounted for by the gyration of the body of the Vāstu after his fall.[1] The names of the essential cords (lines) of the Vāstupuruṣa, as site-plan, and their application are discussed below.

The square site of 64 or 81 squares is divided by 9 or 10 lines respectively, drawn in the east-west and south-north directions. They form the four main sides of the square and also the sides of each of the internal 64 or 81 squares (pada). The two main diagonals are drawn, and parallel with each of them are two shorter diagonal lines. Their distance from the main diagonal is equal to the length of the diagonal of the small square, in the 64 and 81 plot ; these 'shorter diagonals' run from the meeting point of one main side line with the third perpendicular line, from N. E. to S. W. and from S. E. to N. W. This is clearly stated in the Bṛhatsaṃhitā, ch. LII, 57 and 61 ; according to the Vāstu-vidyā, VI, 10, 'shorter diagonals' have to be drawn through "3 plots and 6 plots" in a site of 81 squares ; with reference to the 64 squares plan however the small squares through which the lesser diagonals have to pass are given by the name of their resident divinities (Vāstu-vidyā, VI, 25-26). This is also the case in the Bṛhatsaṃhitā.[2] The names do not coincide. They are :

Bṛ. S. LII, 61.		**V. V. (in a 64 squares Vāstu).**	
from	to		
Roga	Anila ⎫ The two		
Pitṛs	Agni ⎬ main diagonals		

The 'lesser diagonals'

from	to	from	to
Vitatha	Śoṣa	Gṛharakṣaka (Bṛhatkṣata)	Varuṇa
Mukhya	Bhṛśa	Bhallāṭa	Āditya (Sūrya)
Jayanta	Bhṛṅgarāja	Indra	Yama
Aditi	Sugrīva	Candra (Soma)	Puṣpa(Kusuma-danta)

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1. 'Śilparatna', VII, 34, represents Vāstu with his head placed in the east. This opinion is 'held by others'. Cf. p. 189.

2. 'Bṛhatsaṃhitā', (ed. Sudhākara Dvivedī, Vizianagram Sanskrit Texts, Vol. X, Pt. II), ch. LII, 43-45, places Śikhin (Agni), Anila (Vāyu) and Roga, instead of Īśa, Agni and Vāyu in the N.E., S.E. and N.W. corners respectively.

The compartments of these divinities acc. to Br. S., for instance of Vitatha and Brhatksata in the S.E., and of Varuna and Śoṣa in the N.W., etc., are connected by the same diagonal lines. The Brhatsamhita refers to a corner of the plot of each divinity on the outside line of the total site. But the 'corners' in the Vāstu-Vidyā would coincide with the middle of the outer sides of the plots of aryama, Vivasvān, Mitra and Prthvīdhara in the 64 squares plan of the Br. S. Only in this way do the lesser diagonals of the two texts coincide. If, however, the designation of the V. V. by the name of the divinities refers as usual to a corner of their plots on the main side, the lesser diagonals start from the meeting of the fourth perpendicular line and the side line.[1] Their distance from the main diagonals increases by one half and their points of intersection (marma) consequently differ from those in the Br. S.

The sides of the square plan and the internal lines parallel to them and forming the small squares on the one hand, the two diagonals and the four -or eight- oblique lines, parallel to these on the other, are given special importance at their meeting points. They are called 'marma'; the Br. S. LII, 61-62, speaks also of 'mahāmarma' or 'atimarma' ; these are the meeting points of the oblique lines.[2] In the Brhatsamhita, the main diagonals are called 'vamśa' and the lesser diagonals are 'rajju'. This designation is valid in a site-plan of 81 squares, in the Brhatsamhita and other texts.

A full account of the various 'marmas' is given in the Vāstu-vidyā, ch. VI. There the lines whose crossing is called 'marma' are the side lines, running from N.E.-S.E.-S.W.-N.W., and the diagonals from N.E.-S.W. and from S.E.-N.W. As the terminology of the different texts on Vāstu is not the same, four texts which dwell at length on the lines and their points of intersection in the Vāstupurusa, are put together in the chart on p. 186, along with the definitions in these manuals.

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1. 'Vāstu-Vidyā', Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, vol. XXI, p. 77.

2. Br. S., LII, 57, commentary, defines 'marma' as concurrence of lines (vamśa) drawn from the angles. LII, 61 mentions these 'angles' by name (see above). This shows unmistakably that the 'vamśas' are the main diagonals (karna-sūtra); the shorter diagonals are called 'rajju' in the Br. S.; Com. 63, defines as 'sirās' the 10 lines drawn from E.-W. and S.-N., each.

Nevertheless P. K. Acharya, in his 'Architecture of Mānasāra', p. 53, says : "acc. to the Br. S. as explained by Utpala, both Vamśa and Sirā would be identical with the several E.-W. and N.-S. lines by which the groundplans are divided into several plots".

	I Bṛhat Saṃhitā, Ch. LII, and Utpala's commentary.	II Iśānaśivagurudevapaddhati, Ch. XXVII.	III Vāstu-Vidyā, Ch. VI.	IV Śilparatna, Ch. XIII.
Sūtra (cord, line).* Prāk-sūtra. Udak-sūtra. Madhya-sūtra.		the Sūtras are the Sirās of the Vāstupuruṣa. (62). is known as Ūrdhva-vaṃśa.(61). is known as Pārśva-vaṃśa.(62).	sides (nāḍī) and diagonals (rajju) are Sūtras. (13).	
Karṇa-sūtra.			middle line, in the E-W direction is called Brāhmyarekha. diagonal, S.W-N E, Maraṇasūtra; NW-SE, Jīvasūtra. (5-6) (note 17).	
Sirā (any tubular vessel nerve, vein).	The 10 lines which are drawn from E.-W, and S-N in a site of 81 squares. Com. (63).	Sirās in a Vāstu of 81 partitions. (60).	2 diagonals in a 64 squares site from corner to corner are called Sirās. (25-26).	[same as Vāstu-Vidyā] (17).
Nāḍī (vein, any tubular vessel).			N. are 10 east and 10 westwards in the Vāstu of 81 squares. (10).	in 81 squares Vāstu, 10 lines facing E and 10 lines facing S. (2).
Vaṃśa (beam, back-bone).	The 2 Vaṃśas are the main diagonals, i.e. lines drawn from the angles, Roga-Vayu, Pitṛs-Agni. Com. (57).	Vaṃśas are the Koṇa-rajjus. (61).	in 64 squares site, the lines running eastwards and northwards are called Vaṃśas. (25-26).	[same as Vāstu-Vidyā] (17).
Anu-vaṃśa. Ūrdhva-vaṃśa.		this name is given to the Prāk-sūtra. (61).	lesser diagonals in a 64 squares site. (25-26).	at the sides of the Sirās (17).
Rajju (cord).	The four 'lesser' diagonals; (61) and Com. (57).		lesser diagonals in an 81 squares site. (10).	(diagonals) on either side of the Karṇas. (2)
Koṇa-rajju. Marmā (vital part, vulnerable point).	Intersection of Vaṃśas, etc. Com. (57).	Koṇa-rajju=Vaṃśa. (61). scrutinized after having laid the Koṇa-sūtras and prepared 81 squares. (60).	is formed by the crossing of Sūtras (27).	
Ati (mahā)-marmā.	The 9 meeting points of the Vaṃsas and the 4 Rajjus. (61, 62).		at the 4 corners of the 'Brahmapada' where 8 Sūtras (Nāḍīs and Rajjus) meet. (13).	where 8 Sūtras meet (Nāḍīs and Rajjus). (6).
Sandhi (joint).	is Marmā. (62).		outside, on the sides, where 3 lines meet. crossing of 2 Anuvaṃśas. (27).	'Marmā-sandhis' (9).
Lāṅgala.				[cf. Vāstu-Vidyā] (20).

* The 'Kāmikāgama', XVIII, 1-3, begins the enumeration of Sūtras with the Prāk-sūtra (east line) and the Udak-sūtra (north line). It speaks of the diagonal (karṇa-sūtra) as fourth line.

The Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati partly uses the term 'vaṃśa' (as 'prāk-sūtra' and 'udak-sūtra') in the sense of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.[1] Vaṃśa and 'sirā' in this sense are parallel, they are the sides and the partition lines of the Vāstu. Vaṃśa here retains the direction of the horizontal beam. But 'vaṃśa' is also 'koṇa-sūtra' or 'koṇa-rajju' and means the diagonals. (ch. XXVII, 61).

The Bṛhatsaṃhitā, however, and Utpala's commentary use 'vaṃśa' in the sense of 'diagonal' only in the plan of 81 squares.

The Vāstu-vidyā, on the whole, adheres to the definition of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and speaks of the sides in a 64 squares plot as 'vaṃśa'; and in an 81 squares plot as 'nāḍī'. The 2 diagonals in the 64 squares site are called 'sirās', whereas the lesser diagonals inconsistently are called 'anuvaṃśas'. Among the meeting points (marma) are implied (1) the crossing of oblique lines only ; and (2) of diagonal (oblique) lines and side lines. These are situated at the corners of the compartments.

The Vāstu-vidyā points out as 'marma' all the intersections between horizontal, vertical and diagonal lines. This is also described in detail in the Śilparatna (ch. XIII, 2-9, 17-22). The numbers of the 'marmas' are first given in the plan of 81 squares (2-9) and a distinction is made according to their being the result of the crossing of horizontal and vertical lines (nāḍī) with diagonal lines (rajju): 'mahāmarma' ; those which result from the crossing of 'nāḍīs' only : 'upamarma' ; those which result from the crossing of 'rajjus' only, etc.

The Śilparatna gives the same definitions as the Vāstu-vidyā ; is also uses the terms 'vaṃśa' and 'sirā' (XIII, 17) in the 64 squares Vāstu for the side lines and the two diagonals ; it avoids ambiguity by the

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1. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, III, I, 1, 6, "hall with the top beams from west to east (prācīna vaṃśa)." See footnote 2, SBE. XXVI, p. 3. "The 'vaṃśas' are the horizontal beams supported by the four corner posts. In the first place two cross-beams are fastened on the corner posts, to serve as the lintels of the eastern and western doors. Across them tie beams are then laid, running from west to east on which mats are spread by way of a roof or ceiling. The term 'prācīna vaṃśa' refers to these upper beams (upari-vaṃśa) and especially to the central beam (pṛṣṭha-vaṃśa or madhyavala) the ends of which rest on the middle of the lintels of the eastern and western doors. Cf. Sāyaṇa, on Taitt. S. I, 2, 1. (Vol. I, pp. 279, 286); Kāty. VII, 1. 20. scholl."

employment in the 81 squares plan of the names 'nāḍi' and 'rajju' for straight and oblique lines respectively, and 'karṇa-sūtra' which is the name in Indian geometry, of the diagonal.

The terminology of the lines of the Vāstupuruṣa belongs to geometry, the science of the geometer, and to Āyurveda. 'Sūtra' and 'rajju' both mean 'cord' and are geometrical terms ; 'nāḍī' means any cord-like texture, it is a 'sūtra' and at the same time a tubular vessel. In the latter sense it is identical with 'sirā' which denotes a vessel, nerve or vein. Āyurvedic texts treat of two sets of ten 'sirās' each, in the human body.[1] The body of the Vāstupuruṣa of 81 squares has similarly ten 'sirās' in the E. W. and 10 'sirās' in the N. S. direction. Texts on Vāstu-vidyā and on Āyurveda use 'sirā' and 'nāḍī' as synonyms. The Bṛhatsaṃhitā, LII, 63, com., enumerates the twenty 'sirās' by their name ; the Agnipurāṇa, CV, 2-4, refers to the same horizontal and vertical lines and calls them 'nāḍis'.[2] The body of the Vāstupuruṣa of 81. squares, with its system of two times ten 'sirās' or 'nāḍis', agrees in this respect with the body of man (puruṣa). The commingling of geometrical and Āyurvedic terms is in keeping with the nature of the Vāstupuruṣa who is the Puruṣa and plan in one.

The crucial term, however, is 'vaṃśa'. It means beam and backbone. In the latter sense it coincides with the situation of the 'pṛṣṭhyā' or 'spine', which is the name of the 'prācī' or 'easterly' line of the 'mahāvedi' (Fire-altar). It is drawn from the middle of the west side to that of the front or east side of the altar (Śat. Br. III. 5. 1. 9.). Its extension westwards traverses the 'prācīna-vaṃśa' hall (Śat. Br. III. 1. 1. 6) so that it forms the middle line or spine of the entire plan of the sacrificial ground.

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1. 'Nāḍīparikṣā', II, 26-27 ; the 'sirās' are said to arise from below the navel, ten pass upwards and ten downwards. According to 'Bhelasaṃhitā', ch. III, ten 'sirās' are in the internal, and ten in the external cavities of the human body.

2. Identical names are given to the respective 'sirās' and 'nāḍis', but for the following, E.-W. : Sumanā, Svadhā (Bṛ. S., com.) ; Vasumatī, Manoramā (A. P.) ; S.-N. : Hiraṇyā, Suvratā, Kālā (Bṛ. S., com.) ; and Hariṇī, Suprabhā, Jvālā (A. P.).

The 'nāḍis' are also enumerated in 'Vāstu-vidyā', VI, 11-12 ; Śilparatna. XIII, 3-4.

This original meaning of the term 'vaṃśa' in sacrificial architecture is clearly maintained in some of the texts on Hindu temples. Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati, XXVII, 61-62, explicitly preserves the tradition by calling the 'prāk-sūtra', the eastern side line : 'ūrdhva-vaṃśa' ('top-vaṃśa' ; for there the 'head' of the altar came to lie ; Śat. Br. III. 5. 1. 4) and the northern side line, 'udak-sūtra' is known as 'pārśva-vaṃśa', lateral 'vaṃśa', corresponding to the flank of the altar. With an equal transparency the text of Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra, XII, 26-27, describes the E., W., S., N., and 'middle line' each as 'vaṃśa'. In the Vāstu-vidyā, VI, 25-26, also, the lines running east and north respectively are understood as 'vaṃśas' in a site of 64 squares.

The sacrificial ground is identical with the universe, and the universe is Prajāpati. "Prajāpati produced creatures. He became relaxed [lit. fallen asunder]. Relaxed, the vital air went out from within. That having gone out, he fell down" (Śat. Br. VII. 1. 2. 1.). "The gods...raised him.... This terrestrial world is his foundation. That same foundation which the gods thus restored is the foundation here even to this day" (Śat. Br. VII. 1. 2. 6-8.).

Meaning and disposition of the sacrificial ground and of the site-plan of the temple are analogous. Prajāpati-Puruṣa falls to the ground, and the gods restore him by setting him up. The Vāstu-Puruṣa falls down on this earth and there the gods settle on him and form his re-constituted body.

It would follow that the head of the Vāstupuruṣa should come to lie in the east. But this is not the vision of all the texts. Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra, XLV, 18, indeed puts it at the 'prāgvaṃśa', and in XIV, 11, ibid., it is said to lie in the east, in a site of 64 squares. Śilparatna, VII, 34, quotes this opinion as that 'of others' ; it is not the view of the compiler of the Śilparatna. This is stated in Śilparatna, VII, 28, where the head of the Vāstupuruṣa is said to lie in the north-east. Mayamata, VII, 49, also knows the head of the Vāstupuruṣa in the east.

Many other texts, beginning with the Bṛhatsaṃhitā, LII, 51,[1] such

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1. Kern, JRAS. 1873, p. 288, erroneously translated this passage "the spirit of the house area has his head directed north-west wards."—cf. the peculiar description, 'Agnipurāṇa', XCIII, 4, where knee and elbow lie in the N. W. (and also in the S. E.) whereas the hands are folded over the heart.

as Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati, XXVI, 125 ; Manuṣyālayacandrikā, II, 28 ; Mānasāra, VII, 255 ; Viśvakarmavidyāprakāśa, 71, etc., etc., however, are definite about the head of the Vāstupuruṣa lying in the north-east. This is also contemporary knowledge.[1]

The east as well as the north-east, are the place of the head of the Vāstupuruṣa according to Samarāṅganasūtradhāra, XIV, 11. "The head of the Vāstupuruṣa must be placed in the north-east in a site-plan of 81 squares, and in the east in a site-plan of 64 squares."

The Vāstu of 64 squares appears to be specially meant for temples, the one of 81 squares however is fit for temples and palaces of kings as well (Īśānaś.g.d.p., XXVII, 2-3). The 64 squares plan is nearer in its symbolism to that of the Fire-altar. The head of the Puruṣa in both, lies east. The original meaning and direction of 'vaṃśa' is also maintained in the Vāstupuruṣa of 64 squares.

If the head of the Vāstupuruṣa, according to a wide-spread tradition lies in the north-east, it follows that his 'spine' or back-bone lies in the diagonal from N. E. to S. W. This consequence is drawn in several text, in the Bṛhatsaṃhitā, LII, 57 ; Mayamata, VII, 49,53 ; Mānasāra, VII, 263-265 ; Viśvakarmavidyāprakāśa, 84, 85. There, 'vaṃśa' means diagonal. In the two last named works six 'vaṃśas' are spoken of, the two main diagonals and the two oblique lines which run parallel to each 'karṇa-sūtra'. The horizontal and vertical lines in this case are looked upon as 'śirās' or 'nāḍīs'.

In the Vāstu of 81 squares, their number in two groups of ten each, associates them with the 'nāḍīs' in the body of the 'puruṣa' as sacrificer. The identification of the 'yajamāna' with the sacrifice and with the sacrificial building he is about to set up, is established in Śat. Br. III, 5. 3. 1. "The sacrifice is a man ; it is a man for the reason that a man spreads (prepares) it. In being spread it is made 'as large as' or 'of corresponding proportion' as a man ; this is why the sacrifice is a man."

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1. Cf. S. Stevenson, 'Rites of the Twice-born', p. 357.

There appear to exist two main traditions about the Vāstupuruṣa ; the one of 64 squares should lie with his head in the east. His middle and side lines (horizontals and verticals) should be the 'vaṃśas', whereas the Vāstupuruṣa of 81 squares should lie with his head in the north-east. His 'vaṃśa' would be the diagonal(s) and the lesser diagonals would be the 'anuvaṃśas' ; his 'nāḍīs' or 'sirās', in two groups of ten, would run from E. to W. and S. to N. They would correspond to the 'nāḍīs' of the human body.

The Vāstupuruṣa of 64 squares would correspond to the Fire-altar, to Prajāpati and to the Puruṣa. The Vāstupuruṣa of 81 squares would correspond to the sacrificer in his identity with the sacrifice and its ultimate purpose.

These two types also underlie all site-plans which are larger than 81 squares. For the surplus size is given in proportionate measure based on the type of 64 or 81 squares (Bṛ. S. LII. 56, com.).

The Bṛhatsaṃhitā, LII, 42, deals first with the Vāstupuruṣa of 81 squares. In LII, 51, the Vāstupuruṣa is described as laid from north-east to south-west. Preceding this statement, the commentary of LII, 50, says that the very same method must be followed in a Vāstu of 64 squares and in one of 81 squares. The text itself, LII, 55 speaks of the Vāstu of 64 squares. In LII, 61, 'vaṃśa' and 'rajju' are defined as the main and the lesser diagonals, without any specification of the one or the other of the two types of Vāstupuruṣa. In LII, 63, the two groups of ten 'sirās' are enumerated in a Vāstupuruṣa of 81 squares. It appears that Varāhamihira had mainly in mind the Vāstupuruṣa of 81 squares with the head in the north-east. This position seems to have been extended also to the Vāstupuruṣa of 64 squares. In subsequent texts also the terminology of the two types commingles in several variations (p. 186).

In certain versions of his coming to earth (as in the Manuṣyālaya-candrikā) the Asura reels around before he is laid to rest on the ground as Vāstupuruṣa. If his head remains in the east, it occupies the place of the 'head' of the Fire-altar where Prajāpati had fallen to the ground. The coming to earth of the Asura-Vāstupuruṣa-Prajāpati (p. 180) is 'confirmed' by the gods who settle on his body and are identical with its parts. This is his restitution—as site-plan— analogous to the building of the Fire-altar by which the gods restored

Prajāpati. The fallen Asura is described as lying with his face down (adhas).[1] Restituted by the gods, he lies spread out, 'resurrected', facing upwards (uttāna).[2]

If however the head of the Vāstupuruṣa comes to rest in the north-east, it lies in the direction standing towards which Prajāpati created creatures, and the sacrificer offers libations ; it is the quarter of gods and men, and the gate of heaven (Śat. Br. VI. 6. 2. 2-4).

The sacrificer worships with the sacrifice of his natural self.[3] This 'natural self' is also in the sacrificial animal, such as the goat which becomes the goat-Asura (Īśānaś.g.d.p. and Śilparatna). This self is also immolated by the Asura-Prajāpati (Puraścaryārṇava) and becomes the Vāstupuruṣa. His Asura nature is given up to the 'gods'.[4]

According to Jyotiṣa Śāstra, the Vāstupuruṣa lies with his head in the east during three solar months only ('kanyā', 'tulā' and 'vṛścika') and then moves to the south where his head rests for the next three months. He completes the cycle of the year in stages of equal duration in the west and north. Here the Vāstupuruṣa is laid to rest in the tranquillity of ordered movement.[5]

The Vāstupuruṣa is laid to rest and sleeps. His power is all there, potentially. It is bound by so many 'cords'. Or else, in his bound condition he keeps on moving in even stages with the course of the year. This measured movement is ruled over by the 'gods' in contrast to his unbounded movement destructive of all ordered existence, prior to his coming to earth.

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1. Bṛhatsaṃhitā, LII, 51 ; Īśānaś.g.d.p., XXVI, 125-126 ; Mayamata, VII, 53 ; Rājavallabha, II, 1 ; Mānasāra, VII, 253 ; Śilparatna. VII, 28 ; Viśvakarmavidyāprakāśa, 71, etc. ; Matsyapurāṇa, CCLII, 15-17.

2. Agnipurāṇa, XCIII, 3 ; Manuṣyālayacandrikā, II, 28 ; Puraścaryārṇava, l. c., etc.

3. Ch. XXVI, 56-63 ; see p. 153, the correspondence of 'pṛthvī' and 'pṛthvīmūrti', 'agni' and 'agnimūrti', etc., 'ātman' and 'yajñamūrti'.

4. Of the 'gods', the following reside on the West side of the Vāstupuruṣa : Asura (Rāhu), Varuṇa, Pāpayakṣman. etc.

5. The 'Manuṣyālayacandrikā', II, 27-28, places the revolutions of the Vāstupuruṣa after his fall and before he is laid to rest. This is made clear by the Malayalam commentary (p. 31) of the 'Mahāmanuṣyālayacandrikā', "after his downfall he moved the whole world in his lying posture and troubled the beings. Then the Devas made their residence on his body so that the demon can not move."

All the same he has to be pacified by an ever renewed ritual.—He is to be worshipped lying with his face upwards. During the installation, whenever a house is built for God or men he is to be meditated upon as facing downwards (Śaradātilaka, III. 9).

The sacrificial essence which is in man has passed to the sacrificial animals and finally to the grains (Śat. Br. I. 2. 3. 6-7). They are sown into the earth which is to receive the Vāstupuruṣa fallen and 'laid to rest'. His coming to earth and resurrection follow and are alike to their sprouting. Moreover, the rite of sowing the seeds (p. 156) is repeated in its special application to the temple, by that of 'garbhādhāna' (placing the seed into the womb). There the Germ is deposited to be built up in the shape of the temple. The stones or bricks of which it is to be built are imbued with the Śiva-tattva, Vidyā-tattva and Ātma-tattva. The temple is pervaded by the presence of Śiva in whom all the intrinsic forms (rūpa), all the manifestations (mūrti) and all the principles have their abode.[1]

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1. The 36 Tattvas (principles) are :
I. (5) Śuddha-tattvas (the 'pure' principles) : 'Śiva-tattva'.
   1. Śiva-tattva. (Paramaśiva is 'niṣkala', without attributes and qualities and non-manifested.
   2. Śakti-tattva.
   3. Sadāśiva-tattva (is 'sakala-niṣkala ; at the same time with and without qualities).
   4. Iśvara-tattva (is 'sakala' or 'mūrti'; commensurable as manifestation or image of Śiva).
   5. Śuddhavidyā-tattva : (Rudra, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, [Gaṇeśa, Ṣaṇmukha, etc.]).
II. (7) Śuddhāśuddha-tattvas (the 'pure-impure' principles) : 'Vidyā-tattva'.
   6. Māyā ; 7-11. The five 'kāñcukas' (kāla, kalā, vidyā, niyati, rāga) and 12. Puruṣa.
III. (24) Aśuddha-tattvas (the 24 'impure' principles [of the world of duality]) : 'Ātma-tattva'.
   13. Prakṛti ; 14. 'buddhi', 15. 'ahaṃkāra', 16. 'manas' ; the 5 'jñānendriyas' or organs of knowledge ; the 5 'karmendriyas' or organs of action ; the 5 'tanmātras' or elementary essences ('śabda, sparśa, rūpa, rasa, gandha') and the 5 'bhūtas' or elementary substances ('ākāśa, vāyu, tejas, jala, pṛthvī').

                                   acc. to 'Vātulaśuddhāgama', quoted by T. A. Gopinatha Rao, E. H. I., vol. II. pt. II. p. 361 ; and 'Śaradātilaka' ch. I. 15-24.

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The Three Tattvas (p. 170) are : Śiva, Sadāśiva and Iśvara.

The Sadāśiva-tattva due to Paraśakti, Ādiśakti, Icchāśakti, Jñānaśakti and Kriyāśakti has 5 Tattvas : Iśāna, Tatpuruṣa, Aghora, Vāmadeva and Sadyojāta. They are the Pañcabrahmās (p. 175).

The Pañcakāraneśvaras are : Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Iśvara and Sadāśiva (pp. 170, 171).

The 'puryaṣṭaka' (p. 169) consists of the following 8: 'buddhi, ahaṃkāra, manas' and the 5 'tanmātras'. The 'pralayakalāḥ' in whom 'mala' and 'karma' are not matured are endowed with the 'puryaṣṭaka' body.

ORISSAN PAINTINGS

by D. P. GHOSH

Orissa is famous for her magnificent temples. The history of her plastic arts is now more or less known from the earliest times. But Orissan painting has hitherto been represented only by a few straggling examples of palm-leaf drawings and some modern 'pats'. During my recent tour in Orissa I have collected for the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University, a series of more than 35 coloured paintings, some of which at least will give a glimpse into unknown phases of Orissan painting of the last 300 years. Representing some altogether new types they also throw light on developments in Indian art. It is found that Orissan painting did react to art impulses from outside in different periods.

The first painting (Pl. XIII ; reproduction of part of the painting) representing a magnificent court scene is a document of historical and aesthetic importance (size 1′ 8¼″ × 7¾″). It comes from Ranpur. A gorgeous, ornamented, pillared hall is seen to be occupied by an Orissan king receiving a Muslim embassy. The king is seated and dignified in appearance ; he hears attentively the words of the envoy, whose countenance full of diplomatic wisdom as well as the aristocratic mien of the figure just seated behind, have been portrayed. Not less interesting are the alert aid-de-camp seated with cross-bow and brandishing a scimitar, and the hurried consultation between the standing member of the embassy with a respectful attendant, outside. The heads of all the figures are in profile except the elaborately dressed Abyssinian guard of the prince whose full view points to depths leading to an inner appartment of the palace indicated by a wide arch above. Only the prince and his two Oriya attendants immediately behind are bare-bodied to the waist in the typically Indian fashion ; they wear 'dhuti' and 'chadar'. The members of the embassy are clad in heavy, embroidered brocades and turbans of Mughal taste.

The identification of this scene which must refer to some historic episode in the annals of Orissa I leave to better hands. The painting may be ascribed to the last quarter of the 17th century A. D.

Several schools of painting must have found their way into Orissan court art and their inter-mingling accounts for the heterogeneous features of the painting. The Indian, Mughal and Western are the major factors ; idioms from Western India and the Deccan are also there. The Orissan artist has assimilated all these varied formulas with great skill. Peculiarly Orissan are the decorative splendour and wealth of exuberant ornamentation. Elaboration of details, specially in costumes, is a markedly Deccanese trait. The colour scheme is apparently Mughal.

The groups are full of agitation, the individuals are violently animated. Compared with any of these figures, the courtiers of Jehangir and Shahjahan of the purely Mughal school of painting look like wooden dolls. A zig-zag of tilted heads, stretched torsos, raised arms in various positions, slanting swords, flags and staffs, alert countenances, florid stripes and traceries of lavish costumes 'accentuates every stage of both physical and mental exertion or repose'. The flash in the eye aided by a dot in the centre is a Deccani mannerism with Western Indian lineage. The faces are strongly individualistic.

The composition does not show much regard for Mughal conventions. The story is narrated in compartments within an oblong frieze. The central figure is not placed in a conspicuous position above all others, as is the invariable Mughal custom. Condensed into two large semi-circular groups consisting of the royal and ambassadorial parties, the scene is clearly divided by an intervening pillar.

The colouring is extremely vivacious, specially in the richness of the costumes of striped and flowered brocades. Red, yellow, green, brown and orange are predominant. Various nationalities and different classes are denoted by gradations of their complexion, just as in Ajanta. Nobles and princes are distinguished by a yellow or light reddish brown skin. Menials are swarthy, the Abyssinian guard has a reddish black tint. The profiles of the two principal figures, the king and the envoy, are sharply outlined against a dark blue and crimson background. The Muslim heads bear signs of shading in their modelled features, after the Western manner. But the classical Indian mode of colour modelling still

holds sway. Lighter surfaces are set against darker backgrounds and vice versa. To relieve the congested array of complex motives and dazzling colours the artist has interpolated yellow surfaces in a regular succession of measured rhythms.

The next piece of painting is almost in the same style and of the same period. It was recovered from the wilds of Nayagarh. It is on a frail piece of paper, torn and crumpled. Still it is a precious remnant, unparalleled in Indian art.

An unfinished sketch (Pl. XV, Fig. 2 ; size $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{3}{4}''$) in light brown and blue with yellow touches, it is a scene of intrepid horsemen marching in formation in a strikingly realistic way. Here too, Mughal and Western accents are unmistakable.

Not the least notable part of this piece is its linear composition. Modelling plays but a subordinate part. The outline has much to say. Tilted heads, pointed glances, prancing chargers, hurrying feet, jostle one another. We may almost hear the clatter of hoofs, neighing of horses, clash of armour or catch the glint of shining steel. Oblique, angular movements are crossed and re-crossed. They are well knit and co-ordinated in the larger rhythm of the irresistible onward rush. Some of the visages with pointed beard are proud, disdainful, full of determination ; they are so individualistic in character that one is easily tempted to identify the figure holding the poised lance as Aurangzeb himself leading his steeled veterans in one of the famous Deccan campaigns.

The cavalry, in this sketch, appears drawn forward as it were by the slanting parallels of marching feet, swaying hands and the swords of the last two members of the infantry. Visual respite is provided by contrasting the forms of the rearing white chargers against a solid phalanx of bluish steeds. The sinewy animals seem to be made of steel and iron and very little of flesh. The horses and the massing of the figures in overlapping layers of three dimensional volume are more akin to a Western painting than to any Mughal formula. That this painting is a synthesis of several conflicting idioms is also betrayed by the powerful yet summary treatment of the retreating lower limbs of the infantry, so strongly reminiscent of Ajanta. In dramatic effect this scene is equal to the famous 'cavalry' of Suryya Varman II, on the walls of Angkor Vat.

Plate XVII
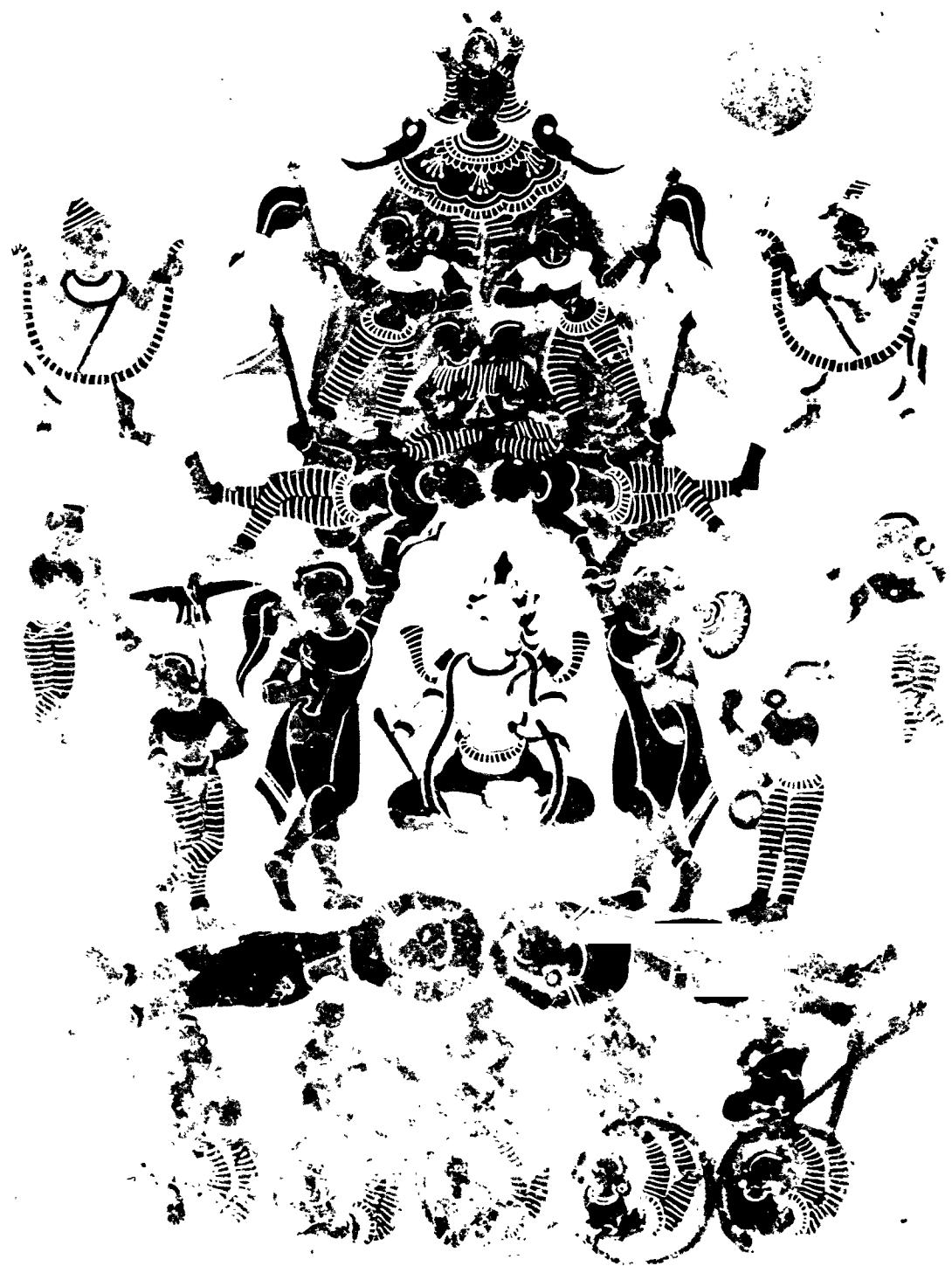
Another specimen, (Pl. XIV) also discovered in Nayagarh, while in an allied style presents certain features which defy classification according to any of the known phases of Indian art. Like the preceding specimen it is also a sketch (size 12½"×16¼"). There are in it however many traits indicative of a relaxation of Mughal and Western conventions and of a gradual reversion to the traditional Indian idiom. The beginning of a new phase typical of the Orissan school is seen here. Perhaps meant to embellish a manuscript of the Gītagovinda, this example forms part of a series of four painted leaves relating the loves of Kṛṣṇa. Gopinīs are shewn disporting themselves while plucking flowers from an arbour on the banks of the Jamunā in full moon. Deer and peacock couples in arresting poses enhance the romantic flavour. Pairs of Gopinīs, in strict profile, are confronted by trees in between, on the straight bank of the river. Animals and birds deftly lead the eye from the horizontal strip of flowing river below, up into the vertical direction. As usually only brown, yellow, blue and green colours play dominant roles. The modelling quality of the line is considerable, Quivering, billowy curves pass into flowing outlines. The deer are delineated with a sensitiveness befitting the best Indian classical tradition.

Sleek and undulating feminine forms merge into the intricate web of foliage supported by thin, pliant stems. The full moon light peeping through the blossoming foliage seems to sharply define each individual leaf. The blue waves of the flowing river are shown in slanting parallel lines, after an ancient Indian device.

An incised and painted drawing (Pl. XVI) on palm-leaf represents the scene of the coronation of Rāma, who is seated with an impressive gesture, holding an arrow in one outstretched hand and a bow in the other. Hanuman squats on the floor and massages his dangling foot. Lakṣmaṇa stands at the back holding a royal parasol over his head. In between, the figure of Sītā is inserted. Belonging to the 18th century, this 'leaf' is hieratic in conception and signifies a break with the style as shown in the three specimens noted above. It reverts to the old Indian tradition.

The figures whether looking outward or inward are shown in what Dr. Kramrisch would call 'profile views of complete visibility'. In the case of Rāma, the torso is slightly foreshortened. Sharply defined against a plain background, all the figures have a plastic volume in spite

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of the linear character of the drawing emphasised not only by the rounded outline of the lower limbs, costumes filled with intricate patterns and liberal use of jewelry but also by the judicious employment of colour. Only the upper parts of the bodies are coloured. Rāma is covered with sea-green, Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa and Hanuman are conspicuous with yellow, the favourite body-colour of Orissan artists. The outlines are mainly drawn with black. Red is used in some places to heighten the effect.

Agile, bending and resilient curves are skilfully combined and invested with a calligraphic definition. The drapery of the figures is replete with patient and dexterous patterns. Pointed noses and angular lines belong to mediæval Indian painting. The tilt of the face and determined movement of hands and legs convey power. What could be more expressive of energy than the highly strung frame of Rāma ? Sītā represents a coiled spring of pent up energy ; it is uncoiled forcefully in the figures flanking her.

The figure of a seated Mahant of a Maṭh (inset on p. 199) has a monumental quality. The light blue colour of the massive body shines against a white background with an orange canopy. The widely flung trefoil arch over the head adds to the largeness of the effect. Ample curves descriptive of opulence along with an expression of intolerant authority portray this Brahman Mahant. He is shown explaining some doctrinal intricacy. The largeness of the design belongs to the tradition of 'paṭ' painting. It survives in Orissa and some parts of Bengal to this day. However, the love of intricate patterns of delicate workmanship present in the previous school, persists to a certain extent in the minute floral decorations of the pillows and also in the rampant horse at the springing of the arch on the right-hand side. This mingling of the art of the miniaturist and the largeness of design of mural painting is a dominant factor in the paintings of Orissa in the last two centuries.

The first two paintings belong to a phase of court art which flourished under the Mughals in the 17th century. But with the weakening of Mughal influence the old Indian religious and theocratic subject matter which seems to have been temporarily over-shadowed by foreign secular forms reappears in Orissa.

Such a combination of the miniature and mural styles is also to be seen in the Kāliyadaman 'paṭ' (Pl. XV, Fig. 1). It shows Jagannātha and Balarāma in anthropomorphised forms with Subhadrā in the middle. Kṛṣṇa as Jagannātha tramples and joyfully dances upon the huge snake just subdued. The emblems of Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa are combined. It is an unfinished painting from Puri town executed as late as the last part of the 19th century. Set against the dull Indian red of the background, the yellow body-colour including the garment of the main deities stands out prominent. Black is applied to the face of Jagannāth, and to the lower part of Subhadrā. The hands and feet of Jagannāth as well as the pedestal of Balarāma are painted pale blue. White and green are sparingly used.

Barely 17½″ × 13″ in dimension, this painting is large in its conception. The writhing form of the monstrous snake framing the dancing figure of Jagannāth, stresses its rounded voluminous appearance and responds to the smooth contour of the limbs. The technique is so different that for the uninitiated it is scarcely possible to believe that these two paintings (on Pl. XV) come from the same region.

The delicate rendering of the fingers is akin to the
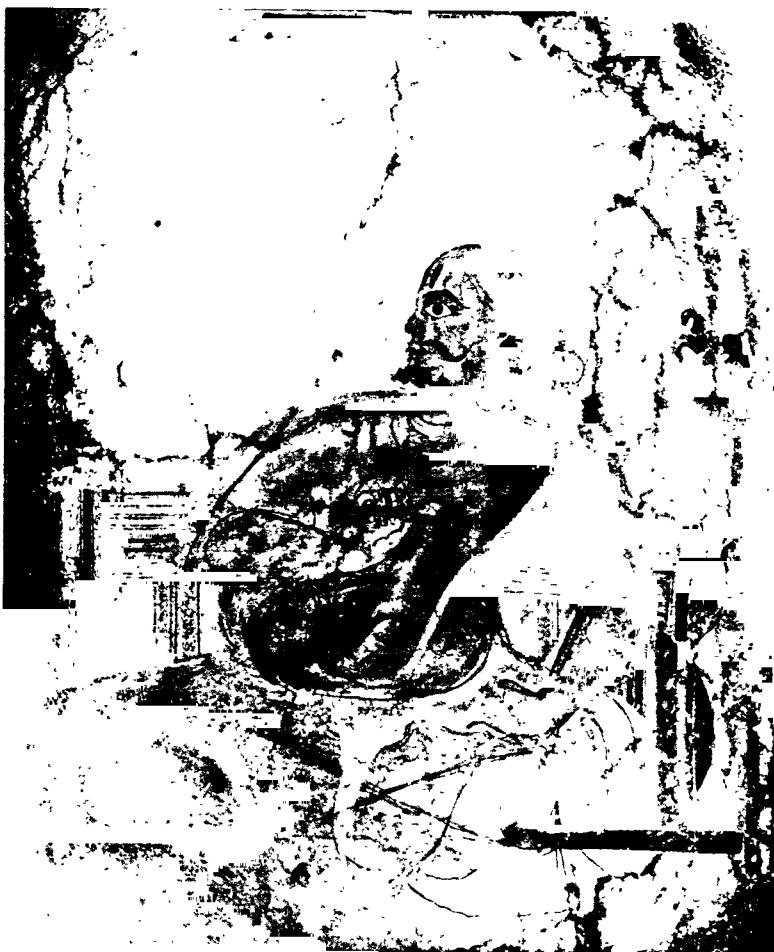
'mudrās' of mediæval manuscript paintings of Bengal and Nepal and shows a survival of classical Indian pictorial traditions even to modern times. In the finished work on diadems and jewellery the miniaturist tendency is given ample scope. In fact, the details of plumage, etc., of a pigeon in another 'pat' by the same painter, are executed with such precision and minuteness as not to be apparent to the naked eye.

A 'Kandarpa Ratha' or the Chariot of Love is the subject-matter of the last painting reproduced here (Pl. XVII). The chariot contains the seated figure of Kandarpa and has for its component elements lovely feminine forms in all possible postures. Musicians and Gandharvas hover about. It is a paste board painting from Puri town by an artist called Giridharidas who died only 20 years ago. (Size $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 10\frac{1}{2}''$).

Silhouetted profiles, compact bodies and a charged density of colours (Indian red, yellow, green) belong to early 20th century Orissan art.